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THE MARK OF THE BEAST

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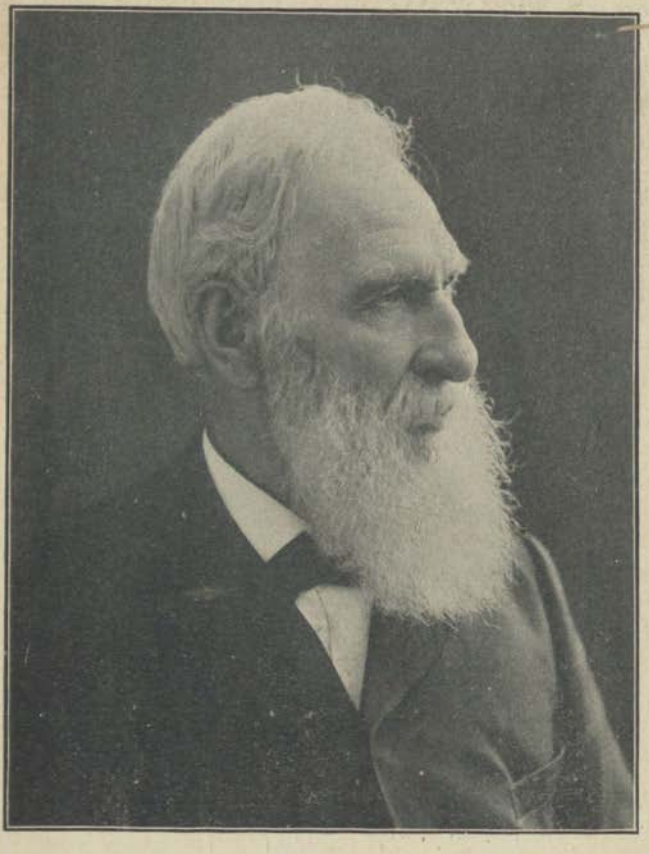

Cordially Yours,

G. W. BROWN, M. D.,

Rockford, Ill.

FALSE CLAIMS

OF

KANSAS HISTORIANS

TRUTHFULLY CORRECTED.

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BY GEO. W. BROWN, M. D.,

HONORARY CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF KANSAS.

The evidence TRUTH carries with it, is superior to all argument; it neither wants the support, nor dreads the opposition of the greatest abilities.—*Pope.*

It is marvelous how long a rotten or worm-eaten post will stand if it is not shaken.—*Carlyle.*

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I.

Introductory.

THERE is no State in the American Union which has bestowed such care in collecting its pioneer history, commencing near half a century ago, as has Kansas, and yet in no one of them will more errors be found. Those errors came from the false representation of violent partisans who sought to magnify the doings of their heroes at the expense of Truth, and to minimize those of their opponents. The prominent actors in the great contest, who went forward in advance of all others, to plant the banner of freedom on her virgin soil, have been maligned and pushed aside, to make place and give prominence to those who came from one to three years later, whose methods were very questionable and sometimes exceedingly prejudicial.

The first pioneers learned before they left the East that a mutual unwritten compromise had been entered into by Congress, at the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, by which the former territory was virtually surrendered to Slavery, while the latter was to be free. The South accepted those terms, claimed Kansas was theirs by virtue of such understanding, and resolved to employ every possible instrumentality in their reach to make effective that agreement.

It was to defeat that claim, and to render nugatory that private arrangement of aspiring political leaders, that the first pioneers, in the summer and autumn of 1854, at the hazard of their lives, passed up the Missouri, the steamboats loaded with slaves and their masters from the South, the latter threat-

ening death to all "abolitionists" who should attempt to settle in *their* territory. The timorous, frightened by the bluster, passed on and located in Western Iowa. The writer who took out a party of near three hundred with him from Western Pennsylvania, can give the names and dates of many who located in Taylor county, Iowa, because of the threatened conditions mentioned.

From one to two years later came another class of pioneers, attracted by the favorable reports the advance guard made of the country, and the certainty of its becoming a free State.

Whilst among these later arrivals were many of the very best men, who would honor any country by their presence, who labored hand in hand with the first settlers to make a great free State, such as Kansas now is; there were others, adventurers, many of whom had failed in business, and still others, broken down politicians, who hoped to regain among strangers what they had lost in the East by practicing the arts of the demagogue. They had no conception of other means than intrigue or violence to thwart the purposes of the slaveholder. The correspondents of the Eastern press identified themselves on their first arrival in the territory with this disturbing element, and gave a false coloring thereafter to all future history. They voiced the extravagant notions of the demagogues, and writing over fictitious names, assailed with pens dipped in gall all who stood in the way of their ambition. The worthiest men came in for the largest amount of falsification and libels.

Many a page now passing for authentic history, concocted by vile men for mischievous purposes, needs to be corrected. That done and many a political saint of to-day will be relegated to obscurity, or

only remembered with criminals, and their eulogists will be known as falsifiers.

The writer's superior position as editor and proprietor of the first and most prominent Free State newspaper published in the territory, and the only one that survived till the close of the contest, gave him opportunities of observation possessed by no other. He has received numerous Kansas publications which were sent to him for criticism and correction. Every one of these were somewhat at fault, while many purporting to be history were so grossly false that he returned them unmarked, with the statement that to make them passingly correct they must be re-written.

Even the Collections of the Kansas Historical Society, while it has been the desire of its founders to preserve only the truthful, yet it is distressingly mournful to read the innumerable falsehoods compiled in many of these productions. The authors, in most cases, no doubt, designed to be truthful, but relying on the reports of others they have grievously misled their readers. The present writer has been invited to point out the discrepancies in some of these Collections to appear in a future volume, but life is too short to undertake and complete such a Herculean task. Falsehoods originating with sensational press correspondents have been copied by later writers. These sustain each other, and to a new generation these misrepresentations appear as real truths, whereas their base was little or nothing else than fiction. The defence of Lawrence by Old John Brown and the battle of Osawatomie are of this character.

Upwards of twenty-two years ago, at the instance of the then President of the Kansas Historical Society, we wrote a series of articles for the public press

entitled, "Reminiscences of Old John Brown." Those articles occupied about one column each, appeared weekly in three leading papers, two of which were in Kansas, and extended through some six months. They attracted general attention, and elicited a mass of favorable and adverse criticism rarely equaled and never excelled. One paper contained seventeen columns in one week. Our purpose was to prove Old John Brown was guilty of the midnight assassination of five men on the Pottawatomie. That done and the twenty continuous years of denials being changed to a justification of the act, we have rested until the present. Now as his eulogists insist on claiming that the result of making Kansas free was the work of Old John Brown, and that the whole "hinged" on that terrible event on the Pottawatomie, the writer, in justice to the memory of those who really made Kansas free, has determined to take up his pen again and tell what he KNOWS of the matter.

READER, if we repeat ourself occasionally we beg your indulgence, for it is our purpose to make the points so clear that he who runs may read and understand. We are unwilling to admit the claim of F. B. Sanborn, that God inspired the foulest murders of the 19th century, as that eulogist, professedly biologist, maintains.

II.

Not a Reliable Historian.

"THAYER contributed much less towards the result [of making Kansas free] than did [John] Brown."—Wm. E. Connelley, p. 207 of his "John Brown."

Mr. Connelley follows this statement with a quotation from D. W. Wilder, as published in Vol. 6 of the Kansas Historical Collections, giving the nativity of the people of the State, as appears in the United States Census report for 1860. It was there shown that the population of Kansas then embraced 107,260; that 12,669 were of foreign birth, that 94,515 were American born; that Ohio contributed to the entire population 11,617; Missouri, 11,356; that 10,997 were Kansas born; that Indiana contributed 9,945; Illinois, 9,367; Kentucky, 6,556; Pennsylvania, 6,463; New York, 6,331; Iowa, 4,008; that from all the other States there were but 17,875, of which there were only 4,208 from all the New England States.

Mr. Connelley argues from these statistics that the Massachusetts movement was a trifling affair; that Thayer helped *some*, but less than John Brown, as above quoted. He even makes the statement, to belittle Mr. Thayer, that he was inspired to organize the Emigrant Aid Company, by the words of Wm. H. Seward, on the floor of the Senate on the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill:

"Come on, then, gentlemen of the Slave States; since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of Freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas. God give the victory to the party which is strongest in numbers as it is in the right."

That speech was made on the night of May 25, 1854, immediately preceding the final passage of the bill. For three months the writer had been beating up for recruits through his Conneautville, Pa., COURIER, to go with him to Kansas, to re-establish the principles of the Missouri Compromise, in case that pending bill should become a law. At the time of that speech he had over 200 names of good men enrolled to accompany him to Kansas.

Hon. ELI THAYER, then unknown to the writer, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, as early as February of 1854, confident of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; conceived his project of peopling the new territory with organized emigration from the free North. In furtherance of his purpose he introduced into the Legislature, and secured the final passage, April 26, 1854, one month and four days before the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law, of an act incorporating the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. True, the New England Emigrant Aid Company was not incorporated by the Connecticut Legislature until a few days later than Seward's speech, yet the machinery of organized emigration was all in motion, and it was to that movement, and probably to the writer's in Pennsylvania, to which Mr. Seward evidently referred in accepting the gage of battle for the freedom of Kansas.

The change from the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Co. to the New England was only to make more effectual the object of the original incorporators. The agitation went right on under Mr. Thayer's direction, without any abatement, and other organizations became in effect auxiliaries, wherever or by whoever called into being, and all looked to Mr. Thayer as the head of the ORGANIZED emigration movement.

That organization of capital and energy gave an impetus to emigration Kansasward, which nothing else could have done. Individuals who made their way alone were strengthened by the assurance that multitudes would follow, and would sustain each other in the final conflict.

Our own party, starting from Conneautville with 300, twenty falling out by the way, was the largest of any entering the territory at any one time, but it

scattered in all directions on arriving there, and its power as a party was little felt in consequence. As the President of that Company we know whereof we write, and are frank to admit, but for the New England Emigrant Aid Company it would have been impossible for us or our Pennsylvania Company, to have gone forward. When we did advance with over 40 tons of freight, the writer carried with him full 1,200 subscriptions to the HERALD OF FREEDOM. These were the nucleus of the large accessions which followed.

The paper, when established in Kansas, instead of appealing to the passions to induce emigration, appealed to the purses. It labored to prove what near fifty subsequent years have demonstrated, that the climate of Kansas was healthful; its soil was productive; its future sure for freedom; that it contained within itself all the elements of unexampled prosperity, and that no other country in the world offered equal inducements to settlers from a free State.

The circulation of the *Herald of Freedom* was confined almost wholly to the Northern States. Save an immense patronage from members of Congress, scarcely a paper was sent south of Mason and Dixon's line, unless in exchange to the press. Wherever read it did its work, and a heavy emigration followed as a matter of course, to gain the cheap lands of Kansas, and aid in rolling back the tide of slavery. And where did they locate? In and around the towns planted under the auspices and special protection of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company. More: Whenever there was trouble in any other part of the territory, Lawrence, the great center of that Company, was the city of refuge to which the endangered, or persecuted, fled.

All these causes combined made that city of Lawrence obnoxious to the slavery propagandists. The "*Delenda est Carthago*" of Cato,—"Carthage must be blotted out," was never uttered with more fervor than by the slaveholder in his declaration, "Lawrence must be destroyed." And this, not because the people made inroads upon Missouri, or in any manner meddled with her institutions, but here was the citadel of freedom—a free press, free speech, and a free people.

The spring and early summer of 1857, witnessed at least 10,000 new comers who entered the valley of the Upper Neosho, with their center at Emporia. They were directed there by the Herald of Freedom. Though Emporia was not an Emigrant Aid Company town, yet it was the projection of the writer, who, as already stated, could not have reached Kansas, or sustained himself there, but for the kindness and encouragement of that Company. Wherever this people came from, whether from New England, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana or Illinois, the indirect influence of the Emigrant Aid Company, inspired by Mr. Thayer, should have the credit.

Persons coming to Kansas long after the events narrated, and getting their information from bigoted partisans, whose ambition seems to have been to falsify the position of all who did not glorify their heroes, have deemed it proper to minimize the services of ELI THAYER, and the instrumentalities he called into being to defeat the schemes of the slavery propaganda. But he who knows the facts is conscious that even the failures of the Aid Company were powerful instrumentalities for good. The destruction of their Hotel, the printing offices, and Gov. Robinson's home aroused the spirit of freedom

in every Northern heart. Thousands determined to go to Kansas, and did so, who never thought of such a thing until this exposition of the barbarism of slavery. Even the indictment, arrest, and imprisonment of the Free State leaders aided the right. The Herald of Freedom never had more than 2,200 to 2,400 subscribers prior to the destruction of its office; but it somewhat surpassed 8,000 in a few months after its revival.

The Republican party owed its being to the agitation growing out of this Kansas strife, brought on by the organization of emigration under the auspices of Eli Thayer. The present generation is ignorant of the fact, nevertheless it is true, the Herald of Freedom was the first paper in all the world that named JOHN C. FREMONT as a candidate for the Presidency. That nomination was inspired by a letter Gov. CHAS. ROBINSON received from the "Pathfinder," who, writing from California, expressed himself warmly in favor of free Kansas. Every speech, from every rostrum, advocating the election of Fremont, was a speech for universal freedom, culminating in an armed soldiery, who made the American flag in truth the banner of the Free!"

The fanatical disunion Abolitionists, with their motto of "No union with slaveholders," always declining to vote, were very limited in numbers, and their conquests were nothing.

The slaveholder knew his most effective enemy. He made war on the Emigrant Aid Company, and on all who indorsed its action, because he was conscious of its power.

Mr. Connelley conveys the idea that the violence of the South was inspired by its hatred of the Emigrant Aid Company; that in the absence of that Company

there would have been no violence. In reply we will say: The South antagonized everything that made for freedom. The greater its influence the more profound its hate. This is seen in the persons indicted for treason.

It may be just to here state another fact not generally known, that the original indictment for high treason contained the names of Andrew H. Reeder, Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, George W. Brown, George W. Deitzler, George W. Smith, Samuel N. Wood, Samuel C. Pomeroy. Gaius Jenkins was arrested with the writer at Kansas City, Mo., May 14th, 1856, and carried to Coon Point, located some seven miles west of Lawrence. There, on the evening of May 19th, 1856, Jenkins was discharged, with the information that there was no action pending against him. On the evening of May 21st, he, with G. W. Deitzler and G. W. Smith, were brought in, and were imprisoned with the writer in a building erected for a land office at Lecompton. We were taken before Judge Lecompte on May 22d, when the writer asked to see the indictment. This was shown him. The name of Samuel C. Pomeroy had been erased, and that of Gaius Jenkins was interlined, in a different hand from the body of the instrument.

Gen. Pomeroy had surrendered to the mob on May 21, 1856, the mountain howitzer at Lawrence, and other implements of defence which were secreted under the Emigrant Aid Company's building, thus gaining favor with the leader of the ruffians; so, to show his appreciation of the act, the person holding the warrant of arrest evidently erased Pomeroy's name, and substituted Jenkins, whose mules these ruffians had stolen, and the indictment was forged to agree with the forged warrant. Phillips in his "Con-

quest of Kansas," besides mentioning on p. 355, the erasure and substitution of Jenkins' name in place of Pomeroy's, says: W. Y. Roberts' name was also erased, and G. W. Smith's was substituted; but we have no knowledge of that fact, if such it was.

It was they whose influence and acts were most prejudicial to pro-slavery aggressions who were singled out by them for hate, and they hoped for punishment, by death.

Is it not wonderful that a person reared from early youth in free Kansas, and enjoying all the bounties of institutions secured to the State by its first pioneers, sees proper to make Eli Thayer, Andrew H. Reeder, Charles Robinson, and G. W. Brown subjects for his severest criticisms, and exalts into heroes, yea, almost gods, John Brown and James H. Lane, the authors and projectors of disorder and violence on the Free State side? Connelley's hate, and the hate of the Border Ruffians centered upon the same persons; and, strangest of all, he rehearses the Ruffian libels, that G. W. Brown was arrested by a negro slave; that the organization of the Emigrant Aid Company by Thayer was what aroused the Ruffians into violence; that the convening of the bogus Legislature at Pawnee distant from the border by Gov. Reeder was for private, speculative purposes instead of trying to get away from Missouri violence; and Gov. Robinson is presented as a vascillating and wholly unreliable person, approving and glorifying to-day what he denounces to-morrow.

Instead of being a historian Connelley is the eulogist of John Brown and Jim Lane, and a traducer of all those who differed from his heroes, they whose policy finally prevailed and made Kansas free. The Ruffians in their bitterest days never wrote so meanly

of the men Connelley berates as does this pretended historian.

Did it require falsehood, calumny without stint, and libels of the most malicious character, to convert a midnight assassin, and a projector of wholesale murders into a great moral hero? One would suppose so to read Mr. Connelley's "John Brown."

III.

Important Inquiry.

WHAT service did John Brown render to Kansas that he is so highly extolled?

Why he came to Kansas a year and three months after Mr. Thayer's pioneer party located Lawrence. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, and a horse with a heavy one horse wagon. They had no implements for honest industry, neither had they "blooded stock," of which we hear so much by Brown's eulogists; but they had voltaic repeaters, broadswords, and a few muskets. He joined his sons on the Pottawatomie on the 6th of October, '55, and wrote his family from Osawatomie Oct. 13, saying:

"We found our folks in a most uncomfortable situation, with no houses to shelter one of them, no hay, or corn fodder of any account secured, shivering over their little fires, all exposed to the dreadful cutting winds morning and evening and stormy days."—See Sanborn's "Life and Letters of John Brown," p. 199.

This is the true story of John Brown's advent into Kansas. In Brown's letter to his family in the Adirondack region of North-Eastern New York, he wrote on "Sabbath Eve, Oct. 14," 1855, p. 201, "Life and Letters:"

"I believe Missouri is fast becoming discouraged about making Kansas a slave state, and I think the prospect of its becoming free is brightening every day."

On the 7th of December, 1855, Brown entered Lawrence, and under the false representation that he had served the government at the battle of Plattsburg in 1814, he was given command of a company of 25 old men, to aid in the defence of the city. David Brown, the father of this writer, who commanded an artillery company at the battle of Plattsburg, served as Lieutenant, an honor the eulogists give to John Brown, Jr., to increase the glory of the family. Old John Brown was three days in service. Then, when a peaceful termination was reached, the old man made a futile attempt to produce insubordination. Says A. E. Coleman, one of Brown's backers, quoted with approval in "Life and Letters," p. 220:

"As soon as Brown heard what had been done, [in the settlement of affairs] he came with his sons into our Council Room the maddest man I ever saw. He told Robinson that what had been done was all a farce; that in less than six months the Missourians would find out the deception, and things would be worse than they were that day."

This was Coleman's account, who was a rabid, fanatical devotee of Old John. But the bitter words were not uttered in the Council Chamber, as he alleges, but out of doors, at the north-east corner of the hotel; and instead of being directed to Gov. Robinson, were addressed to a promiscuous crowd, he offering to lead in an attack upon the enemy at Franklin. He was arrested at this point, and his attempt to incite a revolt was ended.

Only survivors of those times can comprehend the silliness of Brown's proposition, "to go out and draw a little blood." There we were, beleaguered by some 2,000 ruffians from Missouri, supplied with all the munitions of war, including whiskey. Back of them

was Missouri, with its abundant resources, the Governor of the Territory, the United States military at Forts Leavenworth and Riley, and the administration at Washington, with the resources of the nation at his command, a power equal to the strongest government in Europe.

Here in Kansas were a few scattered settlers, poorly housed, roughly clad, short of provisions, mostly without arms or ammunition, the Missouri closed for the winter, with no railroad or telegraphic communication nearer than St. Louis, and requiring full three months to reach the States, and gain assistance therefrom; and yet John Brown, positively showing an insane mind by his acts, when all danger of violence was passed, desired to precipitate a bloody contest. He would endanger the lives of all of us, see our homes and entire resources going up in smoke, the women and children houseless and foodless, exposed to execssive cold, fleeing from their pursuers, with no refuge within 500 miles through the barbarian country; whilst their defenders would be sleeping in death. And persons who were not on the ground, the Hintons, Sanborns, Connelleys, call the act "bravery," and write down John Brown a "hero!" and "an inspired agent of God." Let them sing peeans to his glory, if they will, but we shall nevertheless tell the truth for the generations that come after us. John Brown was anxious to precipitate a revolution between the North and the South, and he thought this the occasion, hence his anger when he saw his ambitious hopes defeated.

IV.

Details of Events.

SIX months pass. On May 21, '56, the new troubles culminated in the destruction of the Emigrant Aid Company's Hotel, Gov. Robinson's residence, the offices of the Herald of Freedom and the Free State, and the arrest of Charles Robinson, G. W. Brown, G. W. Smith, G. W. Deitzler and Gaius Jenkins, indicted for high treason. John Brown, Jr., in command of 120 men, of which Old John was a member, marched to the rescue. They reached Palmyra, 12 miles south of Lawrence, on May 22d. They there learned of the destruction of the city, and of the arrests, and met a "messenger" who proved to have been the wife of A. O. Carpenter, from Lawrence, not from Pottawatomie, who reported provisions were short in Lawrence; and instructing them that no defense was made or could have been made, without incurring the guilt of treason against the federal government; but John Jr. halted his company and went in person to reconnoitre. On his return to camp the Old man was infuriated. He asked for volunteers to engage in a secret mission. He ground his broadswords, John Jr. assisting, as he stated in a letter over his own signature in the Cleveland Leader. [See Vol. II, p. 7, of our John Brown Scrap Book of newspaper clippings.] He is seen with his sons *en route* to the butchery by Col. Blood, who narrates his interview with the assassins. [See Appendix.]

Arriving in the neighborhood about midnight he called out old man Doyle, a carpenter, not a slaveholder, and never expected or desired to be one, and with his own hand shot Doyle through the forehead.

They fell upon the two boys who were cut to pieces with the newly sharpened swords. Then the assassins went to Wilkinson's, took him from his bed, by the side of a sick wife, and murdered him, then they murdered Sherman, slashing and cutting each of them in a horrible manner.

That "battle of Black Jack," of which we have heard so much, was an attempt to arrest the assassins of the Pottawatomie murders, and the two attacks on Osawatomie were still later attempts to capture them.

During all that summer of 1856, Brown and his associates were engaged in acts of violence, stopping men on the highway, stealing their horses, and, if his own letters and the reports of his associates can be trusted, murdering his victims. He burglarized stores, and carried off anything his fancy or his necessities coveted. In an attack on a store at a point just below the junction of the Neosho and Cottonwood, then known as Neosho City, a woman was killed, and the store was plundered. Many of these facts can be gathered from Brown's own statements, published in Sanborn's "Life and Letters." On p. 236, in a letter dated "June, 1856," Brown says:

"We encountered quite a number of pro-slavery men, and took quite a number prisoners. Our prisoners we let go; but *we kept some four or five horses.* We were immediately after this accused of murdering five men at Pottawatomie, and great efforts have since been made by the Missourians and their ruffian allies to capture us."

"Inspired of God to *execute* those men," according to Sanborn! Brown lost the opportunity of his life in not telling his family and the public of his murderous act, so highly creditable if he was "inspired of God." On the contrary he and all his friends denied his guilt. Twenty-four years thereafter the

guilt was proved upon him, and *then* "John Brown was only an instrument in the hands of God to do his bloody work." What was highly criminal before, to be repudiated, became at once a meritorious act, and the rescue of Kansas from slavery was made to hinge on those murders. The victims, three at least of the five, were opposed to negroes, bond or free, settling in the territory. They were mechanical laborers from the South, and were prejudiced against the negro, because his habits were inimical to free labor. Doyle and Brown had had some angry words on the subject at the spring election, and "threats were made on both sides;" so reported George Partridge, a Free State man from Wisconsin, who was present, and communicated the affair to Col. James Blood. [See Blood's letter.]

The terrible character given the victims of Brown's midnight raid were afterthoughts—attempts to find a pretext for the murders. The story of Brown's party being moved to the act because of the account of a messenger entering the camp and telling of insults to the families of the younger Browns, and the burning of their cabins, is without any foundation, and the burning of the cabins occurred several days after the murders. So the killing of Fred Brown was given as an incentive to the murders, though that event did not occur until more than three months after the midnight assassinations, and was incidental to an attempt to arrest the assassins, of which Fred was one.

Those murders precipitated the Border Ruffians on Kansas. They came in the guise of aids to the United States marshal, to arrest Brown and his irresponsible guerillas. They did not limit their outrages to "Old Brown" and his sons and son-in-law. They made those murders the pretext for every form of vio-

lence, even the killing and scalping of an unarmed and inoffensive pioneer just entering the territory. They obstructed the tide of emigration, and turned back those ascending the Missouri river to enter Kansas, alleging that Free State men were assassins.

The affidavit of Joab M. Bernard, on p. 1202, of the Congressional Investigating Committee's Report on Kansas affairs, published in 1856, with that of John Miller, on p. 1201, gives the details of the robbery of Bernard's store, by a party of freebooters, loading a wagon with plunder, and taking away "two large horses, three saddles, two bridles, and nearly all the provisions, bacon, flour, etc., and all the money in the store." This robbery occurred on the 28th of May, 1856; Brown's original party of 8 had been augmented to 14 when Bernard's store was plundered.

On pp. 1204-5 of the Committee's Report is the affidavit of Geo. T. Williams, telling of other robberies by "Capt. Brown," and the taking of a Mr. Thompson into the brush by Brown, "and he has never been heard of since."

It was the writer's fortune to read a diary kept by a boy of 16 who joined Brown's Guerillas in the early summer of 1856, and who accompanied the party in all their raids during that summer. We are still in hopes of securing that diary for preservation in the Historical Society of Kansas. It is a precious document, indeed; but the worshipers of the "old hero" will take some method to suppress it. Its ghastly accounts of intercepting travelers on the highway, interrogating them whether Free State or Pro-Slavery. If the latter their murder, pillage of effects and hasty burial. This account was confirmed to us by two other parties, who were knowing to transactions of the kind.

On the 11th of February, 1857, G. W. Deitzler and the writer left Lawrence to select the town site of Emporia, on the Upper Neosho. On Feb. 17, unable to cross the Neosho because of high water, we descended the river, passing its junction with the Cottonwood, and about midday came to a point known in pioneer days as Neosho City. They who have access to the Herald of Freedom will find a detailed report of our adventures on that trip in the issue of Feb. 28, '57, and subsequent issues. We quote the closing paragraph 2d page, 2d column, of date as above:

"From this point [where Mr. Humphrey's steam saw mill was found] we journeyed down the Neosho several miles, and visited a point known as Neosho City, located by a Proslavery company, and on which is erected a log store building. This, however, was vacated last summer [1856] the goods having been stolen by a predatory band of *robbers*, who took advantage of the times, calling themselves *Free State* men, and made incursions into this region for plundering purposes. The point is low, and would necessarily be sickly. Near the location were six graves. Among this number was that of a woman who was *shot* by the same party that robbed the store, while attacking and firing into the house where she was residing."

Had we added the information imparted to us on that occasion, that Old John Brown led in that murderous and pillaging foray, instead of his writing:

"I believe all sensible Free State men in Kansas consider George Washington Brown's Herald of Freedom one of the most mischievous and traitorous publications in the whole country,"

Very probably we would have been "executed" by him or some of his cutthroat followers, and his biographer would have declared "he was inspired of God" to do the work.

These murders, robberies and acts of violence constituted John Brown's services to Kansas in 1856. He left the territory on the 16th of September, 1856, taking his sons, son-in-law and their families with him. He left immediately after the great Border

Ruffian raid of Sept. 14, whose contemplated acts of violence were prevented by Gov. Geary and the United States troops under the command of Col. P. St. George Cook. Brown did not return again to take an active part in affairs until the Free state party had gained control of the Territorial Legislature; had scotched the Lecompton Constitution; had virtually settled the slavery question for all time. When he did return it was to embroil South-Eastern Kansas in violence, and keep that whole country in an uproar, until both parties joined in inviting him to leave the territory.

V.

Went to Fight, Not to Settle.

JOHN BROWN never owned one foot of land in Kansas; he never had a home of his own there; he never contemplated moving his family there; he never attended any of the Free State Conventions; he never favored the party with his counsels. He was a parasite, working, not for the freedom of Kansas, but to embroil the Union in sectional strife, hoping thereby to hasten the extinction of American slavery.

On page 167 Redpath's "Life of Brown," is an interesting romance represented to have fallen from John Brown's lips while bivouaced "a stone for a pillow, the clouds for covering," after a days deadly fighting in defense of Lawrence, where in truth, scarcely a gun was fired. Redpath says:

"He [Brown] then lay down by our side, and told us of the trials and the wars he had passed through; that he had settled in Kansas with a large family, having with him six full-grown sons;

that he had taken a claim in Lykins county, and was attending peacefully to the duties of husbandry, when the hordes of wild men came over from Missouri and took possession of all the ballot-boxes, destroyed his corn, stole his horses, and shot down his cattle, and sheep, and hogs, and repeatedly threatened to shoot, hang him or burn him, if he did not leave the territory; and as many times endeavored to put their threats in force, but were as often prevented by his 'eternal vigilance,' which he found to be the price of his life and those of his family."

Need we write, even at this distance in time from those occurrences in Kansas history, that, probably, there is not a word of truth in all that statement? Old John Brown had participated in no wars; he never settled in Kansas with his family, hence did not have any six sons with him in that family; he never entered any claim in Lykins county nor elsewhere; he did not attend to the duties of husbandry; was not in the territory until more than six months after the Missouri usurpation of the ballot-boxes. The only "horses" he ever owned, save the one he drove into the territory, were stolen, and the same of his blooded stock, his sheep and hogs, if he had any. We rather think they would have hung him had they caught him after his murders on the Pottawatomie. His return to Kansas in the summer of 1858, as narrated on p. 472 of Sanborn's "Life and Letters," was caused by an apprehended betrayal of his plans to make a descent on Virginia to the administration at Washington by his drill-master, Col. Forbes; and he wanted to divert attention from that insane purpose, so he went to Kansas, and plunged headlong into the strife there. The more agitation he could produce, the more sure he was that Forbes' statement would be discredited. It aided in no way to make Kansas free, for that end was already attained the year before, while he was absent from the territory.

Disguised under the name of *Shubel Morgan*, and supporting himself by plunder, accountable to no

one, he organized a military company, exacting implicit obedience to his orders. Sec. VII provided:

"All prisoners who shall properly demean themselves shall be treated with kindness and respect, and shall be punished for crime only after trial and conviction, being allowed a hearing in defence."

Though at that time the whole machinery of the territorial government, including those of the counties, was in Free State hands, yet this faction of malcontents, with Brown at its head, assumed to run a government of its own, proposing to arrest, try, convict and punish persons independently of law, agreeably to the caprice of the self-appointed "commander" John Brown. And for this usurpation of authority, and disregard of all law, John Brown is a hero according to Connelley, and "entitled to more credit than was Eli Thayer for making Kansas free."

Is not Jim Lane's "Great God!" in point?

"John Brown's Parallels" have excited great interest among his admirers. He wrote from Trading Post, Kan., January, 1859:

"Not one year ago eleven quiet citizens of this neighborhood William Robertson, William Colpetzer, Amos Hall, Austin Hall, John Campbell, Asa Snyder, Thomas Stilwell, William Hairgrove, Patrick Ross, and B. L. Read,—were gathered up from their work and their homes by an armed force under one Hamilton, and without trial or opportunity to speak in their own defence were formed into line, and all but one shot,—five killed and five wounded. One fell unharmed, pretending to be dead, All were left for dead. The only crime charged against them was that of being Free State men. Now I inquire what action has ever, since the occurrence in May last, been taken by either the President of the United States, the Governor of Missouri, the Governor of Kansas, or any of their tools, or by any pro-slavery or Administration man, to ferret out and punish the perpetrators of this crime?"

The murder of those five men was a damnable affair, which admits of no palliation. The excuse that they were engaged with James Montgomery in harassing pro-slavery settlers, stealing their stock, and

doing all in their power to render the lives, and those of the families of the assassins, miserable, was no justification for such a barbaric deed. It was a crushing blow to the pro-slavery party, and those engaged in it became outlaws, and doubtless met with the fate of lawbreakers, as they deserved. Now let us have a *real* parallel so far as practical to these midday murders on the Marias des Cygnes:

During the hours of *midnight*, between the 23d and 24th of May, 1856, one Capt. John Brown, with a party of seven associates, entered the valley of the Pottawatomie, and passing from house to house took five persons from their beds, one from the side of a sick wife, and slaughtered them, heedless of their appeals for mercy. One was shot in the forehead by the Captain himself, and stabbed in the breast, another received a gash in his head and side, and his throat was cut. Another's skull was split open in two places, and some of his brains were washed out by the water into which he was thrown, A large hole was cut in his breast, his left hand was cut off. Two boys were killed. One was found with his head cut open, and a hole was made in his jaw, also one in his side. The other boy was found the next morning with his fingers cut off, his arms were cut off, his head was cut open and there was a hole in his chest. To add to the infamy of the terrible crimes, these men were maligned in the most shameful manner, and were charged with a multitude of offences of which they were not guilty. Only two of them were pro-slavery. The other three were "free white state" men—"worse than slaveholders," said John Brown.

Attempts were made to bring the guilty parties to justice, but they escaped just retribution for their crimes, some of them dying, however, a few years

later on the gallows, in a distant State, for other murders, with treason added.

F. B. Sanborn, the biographer of this Capt. John Brown, the leader in this midnight assassination on the Pottawatomie, says, p. 247 "Life and Letters:"

"The story of John Brown will mean little to those who do not believe that God governs the world, and that he makes his will known in advance to certain chosen men and women who perform it consciously or unconsciously. Of such prophetic, Heaven-appointed men John Brown was the most conspicuous in our time, and his life must be construed in the light of that fact. * * * Such a deed must not be judged by the every-day rules of conduct, which distinctly forbid violence and the infliction of death for private causes."

Why not, Mr. Sanborn? Because, he says:

"Upon the swift and secret vengeance of John Brown in that midnight raid hinged the future of Kansas, as we can now see; and on that future again hinged the destinies of the whole country."

What supreme balderdash! The destiny of Kansas, the American Republic, and the liberties of the world hinged on midnight assassination! That awful crime, so horribly atrocious that humanity shuddered while reading it, and a Free State historian of the times charged it on the Camanches, the wildest Indian tribe of the plains. For twenty-four years it was denied by all of Brown's friends. Even so late as 1880 F. B. Sanborn wrote:

"John Brown denied to me that he was responsible for those murders, though he approved of them, and he [Sanborn] would not believe to the contrary unless an eye-witness is produced, who knew of his guilt."

That eye-witness "was produced," in the person of James Townsly, an involuntary accomplice in the murders. Then the *murders* became "executions," and the assassins were "heroes," and the leader "conscious or unconscious" was a "Heaven-appointed executioner!"

Glorious old Robin Hood, anarchist and freebooter,

myth or real character; he was a hero and a leveler, robbing from the rich and giving to the poor, famous in English story. Frank B. Sanborn should be your defender. He would convert you into a great moral hero, yea, enshrine you with the gods, and rear shafts and temples to perpetuate your fame.

Wm. A. Murrell, best known as the "Great Western Land Pirate," who, about 1850, was doing a long term service in the Tennessee penitentiary for his many crimes, was a God-fearing man of the John Brown stripe. In the guise of a preacher, beating up for recruits for his divine master, he would visit the homes of successful planters, engage in religious instruction, invite the family and "servants," however numerous, to engage in worship. Then he would read a chapter in the Holy Bible, call attention to its beauties, expounding it in the interest of the slaveholder, and enjoining the servants to be obedient to him. This would be followed by singing a hymn, closing with prayer, always protracting the services to such length as seemed necessary for his sub-thieves to get away with the planter's horses and cattle, then he would join the family in the search, for his own saddled horse had been gobbled up by the marauders, to divert suspicion from himself. He always managed to lead in the pursuit; but never returned to report the success or failure of his search. Lone horsemen met on the highway, were enticed into a dark glen, shaded by overhanging trees and clinging vines. A bowie knife thrust to the heart of the victim—a quiet method to avoid noise, like Brown's newly-ground broadswords on the Pottawatomie, then a led horse and saddle which he had just "*purchased*," a dash to some agreed upon place for rendezvous, where the captured horse is placed in the hands of an ac-

complice, who hastens to a distant market to sell and recoup an empty purse.*

Is not Murrell a worthy subject for Sanborn's eulogistic pen? Was he not "inspired" to murder and plunder the same as was Old John Brown?

Only Omnipotence can know how many Jesse James' and Quantrells took their first lessons in crime, or were inspired to its commission, because of the acts of Sanborn's hero.

Booth, shooting Lincoln, was as much inspired of God to murder a President, as was Brown to perpetrate those midnight assassinations. Guiteau and Czolgosz, infamous as were their acts, and richly deserving death, as did all who sympathized with or apologized for them, were as much inspired of God as was John Brown; more, for they killed their victims in the full glare of noonday, or in the bright blaze of theatrical light; but John Brown and his associate bandits entered that peaceful valley of the Pottawatomie under the covert of night. They crept stealthily from dwelling to dwelling, took the inmates from their beds, and out into the darkness, and there slaughtered them one by one! The fiends of Pandemonium were abroad on that horrible May night, but the eye of justice did not slumber! From that time until he swung from the gallows, as we have already shown, John Brown was a victim of his own guilt, seeing in every honest man an avenger of his crimes,

*Sanborn in his "Life and Letters," p. 494, tells of John Brown: "He publicly sold the horses he had captured [stolen] in Kansas in Ohio, warning the purchasers of a possible defect in the title." Then, in a foot note he says: "A Vermont judge refused to recognize a slave as property, until his owner could bring before the court a 'bill of sale from the Almighty.' Brown fancied he held these horses by such a title." May not every horse thief set up the same claim with as much propriety as John Brown? Who made him a favored thief?

and denouncing in unmeasured terms those who knew of those murders, but from motives of public policy, in the interest of the Free State cause, did not deem it wise to expose him, and would not have done so at all, if his devotees had not labored to rob deserving men of merited fame, and pile their glories on his blood-stained brow.

VI.

Disorder and Violence.

THE GREATEST period of disorder and violence all over the territory followed those murders on the Pottawatomie. Only the presence and interference of the United States troops prevented the general slaughter of the Free State pioneers, and the destruction of their homes. Governors Geary, Stanton, Walker, Denver, each in turn, co-operated with the Free State settlers in establishing order. It was the fashion of the Britishers, Wm. A. Phillips, James Redpath, Richard Realf, and Richard J. Hinton, to falsify and malign every person who labored to make Kansas free by other measures than a resort to blood. They openly sought a sanguinary issue with the South. Their pertinacity in that direction almost suggested that they were emissaries of the British government, which a few years later did side with the slaveholders in the great war of the Rebellion. And John Brown was the idol of those Letter-Writing Foreigners and Disunionists.

All know who know anything of the pioneer history of Kansas, that the pens of these British hirelings, every one of them—were joined in a conspiracy to crush the Herald of Freedom and its editor, first be-

cause he favored participating in the territorial election of October, 1857, which resulted in wresting the Legislature from the pro-slavery usurpers; and, second, for insisting on the election of all officers under the Lecompton Constitution, to the end if forced on us by Congress we could nevertheless use it to liberate ourselves from pro-slavery thralldom.

The damnable lies of those times, telling that the Herald of Freedom was laboring to build up a Democratic party in Kansas; that it had sold out to Gov. Walker; that it was subsidized for a little government printing; that it printed two editions of the paper, one for the North, another for the South, with a thousand lesser lies with which their letters to the Eastern press abounded; which lies one Wm. E. Connelley, professedly a historian and an honest man, has revived by a multitude of notes in his "John Brown," all of which are fully answered by that prince of liars, Richard J. Hinton, who has done more to falsify the history of Kansas than any other half dozen writers. That writer, Hinton, edited the "Historical Notes" to Realf's Free State Poems, published by Crane & Co., Topeka, Kan., in 1900. We quote from pp. 56, 57:

"The Grasshopper Falls Convention decided for the Free State party that the effort should be made to seize power through voting under the bogus laws, repeal the same when our majority accomplished its work and enact a law for the convening of a Constitutional Convention. * *

"At the time of this decision, the radicals, like Realf, Redpath, Conway, Wm. A. Phillips, W. B. Parsons, Tappan, myself [Hinton] and others, felt as if the Free State cause had been dealt a deadly blow, BUT, OF TRUTH, IT WAS NOT SO, AS WE CAN NOW SEE BY THE LIGHT OF SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. * *

"In looking back over the long vista of years and momentous events, I can perceive now that the Grasshopper Falls Convention's decision tended to prevent a possible Northern revolt, while it more certainly and effectually aided in checkmating the Lecompton Conspiracy. * * If Congress had forced that instrument [the Lecompton Constitution] upon us without

submission to a popular vote, we should have taken possession of all its offices and powers. * * It is one of the most remarkable features of our stirring overture in and to the great drama which nationalized freedom, and saved the Ameican Union."

Such were the concessions of Richard J. Hinton two years ago, forty-three years after he and his associate-falsifiers had libeled and calumniated all who favored the Voting Policy. But he did not have the manliness to retract those libels which were concocted to destroy the influence of those who favored that voting policy. Instead, he filled that little volume with many of those falsehoods and added others, as if he was yet engaged in that old-time battle, with lies for weapons, and he evidently supplied his tool, Wm. E. Connelley, with the surplus, to adorn his "John Brown," as if he could advance his hero in the path of glory by belieing G. W. Brown, who believed that hero a criminal deserving death, instead of being exalted into an instrument of God to commit murder.

Socrates was condemned to death, by the old Grecians, for corrupting the Athenian youth. Historians tell us he was convicted on perjured evidence. It requires no perjured evidence to convict John Brown, not only of "corrupting youth," but inciting them to crime and to death. Look at the list of brilliant young men, John E. Cook, J. H. Kagi, J. F. Merriam, and others who he induced to follow him to Harper's Ferry and to death, many of them to the gallows. These persons, and the sons of John Brown, were all withdrawn from Kansas, thus reducing the Free State voting population, on which the freedom of the territory hinged. Instead of adding to that population, to outnûmber the pro-slavery vote, as did Eli Thayer, he absolutely reduced it, and so far weakened our cause, instead of strengthening it. The five men he

murdered on the Pottawatomie, had they all been pro-slavery, which three of them were not, as before stated, would have been many times less than those he led away to engage in crime and to death.

VII.

Coward Guilt.

Let coward Guilt, with pallid Fear,
To shelt'ring coverts fly,
And justly dread the vengeful Fate,
That thunders through the sky.

WE ARE told that Jugurtha, the Numidian, who usurped the throne of Micipsa, and murdered his two sons, became the victim of his own guilt. He felt there was no safety for himself anywhere. He imagined his best friends sought his life. Says the historian:

"By day as well as by night, the citizen as well as the foreigner, were suspected by him. The blackest terrors sat forever brooding on his mind. He never got a wink of sleep except by stealth; and often changed his bed in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and utter loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear, which almost drove him to frenzy."—See Rollin's History of the Carthagenians, Part II, Book II, near the close.

Guilt always carries with it a painful sting, as it did with Jugurtha. Col. Jim Lane, who, in an angry mood, foully murdered Gaius Jenkins, never saw a moment of real happiness after that terrible event. Repeatedly to his friends he expressed great sorrow for the act. The writer was told by Mrs. Leavitt, who for a time lived at Wyandot, afterwards kept a boarding house in St. Louis, at which Lane stopped, that waking or sleeping the ghastly form of Jenkins, covered with blood, was ever before him. The old maxim says:

"It is the guilty man who is always afraid of his shadow."

So John Brown, by his action after those assassinations on the Pottawatomie, ever betrayed his guilt. Though, according to Sanborn, he was inspired to murder, yet Nemesis ever followed him in his solitude. Night or day his movements betrayed his fear of the avenger. Col. Jas. Blood, one of the most truthful of men, told of meeting Brown and his party while *en route* to commit the assassinations on the Pottawatomie. Wm. A. Phillips, in an article in the Atlantic Monthly, pp. 738 to 744, of Dec. 1879, tells of a night march from Lawrence to Topeka, July 3d, 1856, and of Brown's declaration that:

"We should resist all who attempt to interfere with the assembling of the Topeka Legislature, and fight if necessary, even the United States troops."

He declined to follow the public road, so his small command floundered through thickets and trailing vines, guided by stars, fording several creeks, and making their way as best they could through the rough and broken region which the traveled highway avoided, coming in sight of Topeka with the dawn. He remained, hiding in the brush, sending one of his men to reconnoiter, and to report when his services were needed to fight the United States troops under command of Col. Sumner. He was ever ready for treasons, stratagems and spoils.

Capt. Samuel Walker, [see p. 268, Vol. 6, Kansas Historical Collections,] tells of finding Brown sitting down, his back to a tree, his rifle across his knees, fast asleep. Walker approached, and placed his hand on Brown's shoulder. "Quick as lightning," says Walker, "he was on his feet, with his rifle at my breast. I struck up the muzzle of his gun not a second too soon, as the charge passed over my shoulder, burning the cloth of my coat."

On p. 240 Sanborn's "Life and Letters," we find a statement by Brown himself, that is interesting in this connection. It is towards the close of the first letter the assassin wrote his family after the murders. He had told in the course of that letter that his party were accused of the Pottawatomie murders, and of attempts to arrest him, then:

"Since then we have, like David of old, had our dwelling with the serpents of the rocks and wild beasts of the wilderness; being obliged to *hide away from our enemies.*"

We have no information that David ever engaged in midnight assassination, and in consequence was compelled to make his residence with the "serpents of the rocks," hence his reference to that worthy seems out of place.

Is such watchfulness characteristic of a "hero" who does not recognize in every movement retributive justice? Of a truth, "The way of the transgressor is hard."

Perhaps Rev. P. P. Fowler drew largely on his imagination when he delineated in the "Jayhawker," published in the Herald of Freedom in the winter and spring of 1859, filling a page or more of the paper for some twelve weeks. Aside from fictitious names, the incidents therein recorded were generally facts as given by witnesses who attended the District Court, in session at Lawrence while the lengthy article was being written. Rev. Fowler was a resident for a long time in Linn county. He knew personally the characters he described; was frequently ordered out by Montgomery and other self-appointed agents to defend the settlements from Missouri raids, incited by old John Brown and others in stealing horses, running off slaves, and raising the Devil generally.

Parson Rook, whose pseudonym cannot be mis-

taken, had been invited to visit the family of one of the characters, to renew his strength. Rook replied:

"I must first visit Dead Man's Glen, [a locality on the Marias des Cygnes where occurred the terrible massacre under Capt. Hamilton, May 19, 1858,] and renew there upon the bloody altar my spiritual strength, and my vows to consecrate myself anew to the humane work of the emancipation of all who wear the fetters of bondage."

Then the author describes a Kansas sunset, so common to that State, and so truthful to nature, no apology is needed for its introduction. Read:

"Look at that gorgeous sunset! We cannot describe it. We feel it is magnificent, but we cannot embody and express that magnificence in words. We say it is grand, beautiful, sublime; but the words convey no meaning with such a celestial panorama before our eyes. See that cloud yonder, looking like the golden shore of some far off realm of beauty. Those other clouds rolling upward and onward, tinged with the variegated hues of the rainbow, rolling on sublimely, now assuming the shape of pyramids, now floating islands, now huge and jagged mountains, with their summits bathed in eternal light, while capacious, shaded, dark-mouthed caverns are yawning at their bases. Between those clouds is the sky—rich, gorgeous, magnificent—tinged, as it is, with golden and vermillion hues, burnished and glittering in the sun! It is more. It is beautiful, grand, sublime, gorgeous, as if the richest conception of Heaven's ideality had been lavished upon it; and thus the monarch of the day retires, surrounded by this immortal tracery, gathering around him his night-robe studded with imperishable brilliants, and rests gracefully, gorgeously upon his couch.

"We will sit here on the summit of this high bluff, enjoy the magnificent prospect, feel the cool, invigorating freshness of the air, and watch the fading twilight and the lofty bearing of old Night as he arrays himself in his starry vesture, puts on his crown of brilliants and sits down on his ebon throne. How calm, how peaceful is the hour!"

And then, last paragraph, first page of the Herald of Freedom, of April 30, 1859, and concluded on 4th page:

"That depression there in the surface of the landscape, is Dead Man's Glen. See! two horsemen approach the dreadful place. one of them points to the spot where the victims fell, turns and rides away. The other, an old man, tall, of slender frame, and wearing a long, heavy, flowing beard, dismounts, fastens his horse to a bush, advances, and stands upon the very soil that was so recently wet with human gore. What sad, strange, wild, dark thoughts possess his mind. He gazes intently on the spot where

Stilwell fell, where Campbell wallowed, writhing and agonizing in his blood; where the eyes of Colpetzer, Ross and Robertson closed forever upon the joys and sorrows, the toils and triumphs of mortal life. He gazes long and intently. Night is shrouding him in its dark drapery, but he heeds it not. He stands as if spell-bound, and gazes on that fatal spot.

"How changed the sky. Dark clouds roll onward and overcast the circling horizon. Hideous darkness shuts out and shrouds all mortal vision. And still that old man stirs not, but gazes, peers in the direction of that dreadful place. Tremulous, voiceless he stands, wrapped in the folds of that blackness. He heeds, he sees it not. His eyes are fixed in their gaze; his mind is on the dead! And thus the old man stands there, solitary, gazing, pondering, voiceless, motionless. What wild, dark thoughts possess his mind? Does he meditate purposes of direful, dreadful revenge? Does he pledge himself anew upon the bloody altar where the innocent have been immolated, to renewed efforts in behalf of oppressed and suffering humanity? We know not. We only know that wrapped in the shroud of that starless, rayless blackness he stands, mindless of the world around him, gazing, pondering, voiceless, spell-bound, on that fatal spot.

"Look! A solitary, luminous spark appears before the vision of that old man as he stands thus gazing, pondering, silent, unconscious of the world around him. That luminous spark is directly before his eyes, and seems suspended and slightly tremulous in the surrounding blackness. What a strange, startling contrast! We cannot turn our eyes from that luminous spark, so strangely suspended upon this black shroud of night. How strange, how unearthly that spark of clear, pure, white light. See! O God, it moves, it enlarges; how clear, how pure, how wonderful! We look, we gaze; we cannot turn our eyes from that luminous, that unsubstantial spark, suspended in the darkness.

"The old man gazes upon it—ponders, wonders. How strange—it still enlarges, expands, intensifies, glows, and he stands gazing, wondering, pondering, speechless. Still it glows, expands. Great God! It has assumed a human form—that luminous spark—and stands there clear, pure, bright, glowing, spiritual, ineffable.

"The old man with the flowing beard gazes, ponders, wonders. A sudden impulse moves his mind, and with solemn awe he speaks: 'Thank God, it has come to strengthen, encourage, counsel!'

"There is a voice in the surrounding blackness. Whence it comes is unknown; but it is clear, distinct, soft, sweet as the voice of seraphim. 'Ah, you shall have counsel.' And still the old man gazes, ponders, wonders, as he stands surrounded by that blackness, and that clear, pure, spiritual body of ineffable light, with human form and lineaments which stands before him. From the hips upward, we behold the body, the arms, the hands, the neck, head, face, glowing eyes and bloodless lips. And thus it stands, a human form of clear, pure, ineffable, spiritual light.

"The eyes of the old man droop for a moment toward the ground.

"See! The lips of that clear spiritual essence move. It speaks. Hark!

"'Rook, look on me!' He raises his eyes in hope. Horror, what a change! That pure, glowing, spiritual body is mutilated, bloody. Almighty God, how strange, how terrible! His skull is cleft. There is a gash in his throat, another in his side, and the hot blood spouts, oozes, trickles down, and horribly stains, obscures that pure, glowing, spiritual form.

"'Rook, look on me! Do you know me?' repeats the strange, unearthly voice. The horror-stricken old man is speechless, voiceless. His eyes seem bursting from their sockets; his hands are thrust forward, as if to repel the horrid vision, and his whole frame vibrates and quivers with terror.

"'Rook, you have forgotten Wilkinson, slain one dark, early Saturday morning on Pottawatomie creek! You have forgotten the sick wife you made a widow, and the children you made fatherless!'

"Mute with horror, the old man gazes, ponders, still upon that appalling, fearful vision.

"Look! by the side of that bloody specter, only a yard from its side; see another luminous spark. It is exactly like the first, clear, pure, white, spiritual. It glows, enlarges, expands, undulates and assumes a human form like the first. Now it transforms, and appears like the other, and it, too, is stained with blood. Hideous to behold! His skull is cleft in two places. There is a hole in his breast; his left hand is nearly cut off, and hangs dangling by a little piece of skin. Now these bloody, ghastly gaping wounds, essay to speak.

"'Rook, look on me! Do you remember Sherman, murdered on a dark Saturday morning on Pottawatomie creek?'

"Still that old man stands there gazing, more deeply horror stricken, yet mute, moveless. Wonder upon wonder, horror upon horror! See! In a line with these ghastly, bloody forms, are three luminous sparks, exactly like the first in appearance. They seem at first quiescent and suspended mysteriously in the shrouding blackness. Now they enlarge, expand, undulate, and assume human forms like the others. First pure, clear, spiritual, ineffable light, yet emitting no ray beyond the outlines of their forms, and now they are transformed like the others. The frightful wounds gape hideously. The hot blood spouts, trickles down, stains, obscures, and hides the approaching morning splendor.

"See! One is an old man, a carpenter by trade. There is a hole in his forehead, a deep, wide gash in his breast. At his right hand stands another. He seems young. His head is cleft. There is a hole in his jaw, and another in his side.

"At his right hand stands another form. He seems to be also young, and to bear a resemblance to the specters on his left. His head is cleft. There is a hole in his breast. His fingers and arms

are cut off. The gaping, bloody wounds of the aged specter have found a tongue:

"'Rook, look on us. Have you forgotten Doyle and his two sons, slain, mutilated, on the early morning of May 24th, 1856, near Pottawatomie creek?'

"And there these strange, hideous specters stand, ranged in a line before the old man's vision, while he, crushed by the weight of accumulated horror, stands mute, moveless. There is a movement. The flowing beard vibrates. The old man speaks:

"'Yes, I do remember, but my hand was not upon you.'

"'But you were the leader of that band of midnight assassins. They acted upon your orders. You sanctioned their bloody deed, even if you did not strike the deadly blows. What have you to say?'

"The old man replies: 'I had seen the troubles in the territory, the murder of Dow, Barber and R. P. Brown. Citizens were imprisoned unjustly, charged with treason, a thriving town had just been sacked, printing offices destroyed, houses burned, while squads of guerillas swarmed and plundered everywhere. I was maddened, wild, insane with excitement.'

"'But, Rook, where, and for what purpose, go you now? Is it philanthropy or revenge, that moves you onward in your preconcerted course?'

"'It is both; philanthropy toward the oppressed; revenge which struck a son of mine from existence, and left him in the highway a ghastly, bloody corse.'

"'Rook, was not that unjust and bloody deed induced by the Pottawatomie massacre, in which that son was engaged, with yourself and several of his brothers, when the five forms, now here, were taken from their homes and families, and butchered and mutilated?'

"The old man was silent and moveless.

"'Rook, look once more upon us. We counsel you. Ah, you shall have counsel. Call not the shedding of blood philanthropy. Mistake not the spirit of revenge for the promptings of duty. Ah, we counsel you: HE WHO SMITES SHALL BE SMITTEN. THE SWORD SHALL NOT DEVOUR FOREVER. BE WARNED! BE WISE! BEWARE! We say no more.'*

"All is silent. The old man gazes, mute, motionless, while those forms stand ranged thus impressively before him.

"See! There is a change. The gaping, speaking wounds are closed. The blood has disappeared. They shine again with starry lustre, pure, white, glowing, spiritual, ineffable.

"Look! There is an undulating motion, gentle, silent. The human forms to our senses are dissolved. They are now in shape irregular and changing. They contract, grow smaller and smaller,

*This was written more than six months before Brown's descent on Virginia, and was published April 30, 1859, in the Herald of Freedom. Was it not prophecy?

soon are merely sparks of clear, starry light. Now they are gone.

"We look around. The clouds have passed away. The stars are visible. Now sweet morning uncloses her eyelids, and sends a warm, rich glow over the Eastern horizon.

"The old man lies on the ground, stiffened in the night air, and covered with dew. Is he dead? We will bend down softly and see. He lives, he breathes, he is sleeping. He moans, starts, wakes, rises; he yawns, stretches, brushes the dimness from his eyes, strokes his long, flowing beard, tinged with gray, speaks: 'What a dreadful night! What a horrible dream?' He unfastens his waiting steed, mounts, and moves away; and now is lost to sight in the undulating bosom of the broad prairie!"

Mr. Fowler did not draw on his imagination for a description of the wounds inflicted on those victims of John Brown's insane anger, somewhere near the hour of midnight, between Friday and Saturday, May 23d and 24th, 1856. On the contrary he gave the almost exact language of the witnesses who were examined by one of the members of the Special Congressional Committee then in Kansas. [See affidavits of Mahala Doyle, John Doyle, James Harris and Louise J. Wilkinson, pages 1193 to 1199 of said volume.] The facts contained in those official affidavits, though strenuously denied by John Brown and his friends, are now as well established as any other events in the history of Kansas. And F. B. Sanborn, the eulogist of John Brown, professedly his biographer, declared p. 248 of his book: "On that midnight raid [and of slaughter, he should have added] hinged the future of Kansas and the destinies of the whole country." And Mr. Connelley attempted to give force to that claim by militating against the services of ELI THAYER in his labors and sacrifices to make Kansas free.

This revelation of those Pottawatomie assassinations, from the pen of Mr. Fowler, and the murder of a woman on the Neosho, of which we gave an account many pages back, unquestionably prompted the

remark quoted by Sanborn, and repeated by Connelley with great glee: "The Herald of Freedom is one of the most mischievous and traitorous publications of the whole country." It took no stock in John Brown after he introduced assassination into the politics of Kansas, and it dropped Jim Lane from its list of saints when he proposed the massacre of the entire members of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention; not because we had any sympathy for that proposed Constitutional movement, or for those who had usurped the territorial government, but assassinations were not the weapons we proposed to wield to save the Central State to freedom. See a full account of that affair in our "Reminiscences of Gov. Walker, with the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas from Slavery," Chapter XVI.

It may as well be said right here that the Herald of Freedom, in antagonizing jayhawking, or in other words, stealing horses and other valuables, from proslavery men, and engaging in all sorts of violence, incurred the displeasure of all engaged in those reprehensible acts, and these people took their revenge in malignant libels on the editor. No falsehood was too base to charge him with. His subscription list was gained by a rival publisher which indorsed jayhawking, and, backed by the letter-writing fraternity, and borrowing their lies, it discharged weekly its volley of fabrications through its columns, until many good people really believed the editor was vile, confirming the statement of Lord Mansfield: "Reputations are frequently gained without merit, and lost without crime."

VIII.

Truth Commended.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, in an address at Minneapolis, Minn., before the National Educational Association, on the 8th of July, 1902, urged on teachers the importance of TRUTH, and insisted that students in all schools of learning be taught its importance in forming character. He said among a great many other good things:

"Teach your pupils the love of Truth. Extol to them its beauty. See that they consecrate themselves before its shrine. Teach them that their lives are noble and only grand when no falsehood hovers over them; when truth in its plenary objectivity is fully reproduced in their minds, and transfigured in their characters. Teach them that the Truth must be the adornment of their lips in speech, and their pens in writing; that the lie spoken or written is more baleful and inglorious than the lie ensconced in the mind, for it goes out to darken and pervert the mind of others."

Had such teaching been accepted, and carried into practice by the press correspondents and their special friends during the pioneer days in Kansas, huge volumes, labeled "History," abounding in falsehoods would not have been written.

It is an anomaly in the history of the world, to see the abusive and fulminating falsehoods of an enemy reiterated by pretended friends to their prejudice. Let us illustrate:

The pro-slavery propagandists saw in the Emigrant Aid Company, and its methods of peopling the desert plains of Kansas with a liberty-loving population from the free North, as their most effectual and deadly enemy. They exhausted their entire vocabulary of bitter invective in denouncing it and its methods. In all their meetings along the border the Company was denounced in unmeasured terms, and it was made the *pretext* for its invasions of the terri-

tory. They made war on all who came from the North, insisting they were emissaries of that Company, and this was made the rallying cry in Missouri as a stimulus for their many raids. Every crime committed by thoughtless or insane persons was only the act of this Company. Drunken hordes, led by pro-slavery demagogues, of which the Atchisons, the Stringfellows, and the Doniphans were types, usurped the elective franchise, filled the public offices with their tools, and enacted a more barbarous code of laws than those of Draco. They even offered a reward of $5,000 for the head of the President of that organization, the Hon. Eli Thayer.

And yet, in the year of grace 1900, Wm. E. Connelley says:

"Thayer contributed much less to the result than John Brown."

And on p. 70:

"The claim that the Emigrant Aid Company either peopled or saved Kansas is preposterous and ridiculous."

Connelley, then, as already shown, quotes Rev. Dr. Cordley as authority for his opinion. Dr. Cordley came to Kansas in the autumn of 1857. The three most important years in the pioneer history had passed when he came there. The contest between freedom and slavery, so far as Kansas was concerned, had nearly ended. The era of blood and violence had closed. The Free State party was about to take possession of the territorial government, with the forms of law in its possession. The Emigrant Aid Company, founded Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan and Osawatomie, with their large settlements on claims to back them,which had been the battle grounds between the Free State and pro-slavery contestants. They had broadened their centers, and added all the appliances of an advanced civilization, that Company encouraging every honorable enterprize with its cap-

ital and confidence. This was the state of affairs when Dr. Cordley came to occupy a Congregational pulpit, erected by his predecessors, a church he had no hand in forming. He knew nothing of the cheer imparted to the colonists by the agents of that Company, and the pecuniary aid it rendered in giving employment to the needy, in the most trying hours of destitution and distress. The writer well remembers the joy all felt and expressed, when the announcement was made in the Herald of Freedom, soon after the revival of the paper, in the autumn of 1856, after its long suspension of six months caused by the destruction of its office, and the imprisonment of its editor, that the Emigrant Aid Company had determined to rebuild its hotel. Confidence was restored at once. We were not to be deserted by that powerful Company with its retinue of friends and abundance of capital.

In the issue of December 13, 1856, 2d page, 5th and part of 6th column, under the head of "Emigrant Aid Company," we furnished facts which should silence the pens of Rev. Cordley, Wm. E. Connelley, and all persons of their ilk, forever. We quote:

THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY.—During the present lull in the political tempest, it may not be improper to express an opinion in regard to the workings of the various organizations for the aid of emigrants to Kansas, and more particularly of the New England Emigrant Company, the oldest of them all. As one of the early pioneers to Kansas, and a deeply interested observer for months before arriving here, we feel that we have opportunities equal to that of any other person for arriving at a just conclusion of the merits of these different movements.

Of the New England Company, we have always been an admirer, because we believe it was based upon correct principles. It hired no man to come to Kansas; it furnished no man with passage money; nor did it promise to sustain any man on his arrival. It merely aided those who voluntarily desired to come here by cheapening his passage. Here they invested capital in saw mills, and hotels, and formed the nucleus for a settlement of laborers. Every man was at liberty to go where he pleased, stop where he

pleased, and pursue whatever avocation he pleased. No restraint has been placed upon any one. They have evidently had an eye to investing their money in a shape that it will eventually pay a liberal interest; and yet they have realized nothing from it, thus far; on the contrary, to a superficial observer, one would suppose only disaster had attended their investments.

They commenced investing money in Kansas, when individuals were too cautious to do so. They have given labor to hundreds of persons, who, otherwise, must have left the territory. This money has permeated the whole country, and every settler here has derived advantages from it. They did not gather up the money in the country, and carry it out, as business men generally do; but they brought it here, and invested it in labor. It has gone, not into the pocket of the capitalist, to make him still richer, but it has found its way into the pockets of the destitute, in payment for labor, to supply them with the comforts essential to their existence.

When others have been doubtful, the Emigrant Aid Company has been hopeful. When many were giving up all as lost, the Aid Company commenced removing the rubbish, which was all that remained of their $30,000 investment in the shape of a hotel, with the view of building a finer structure than its prototype. When general gloom seemed to enshroud the country, they commenced erecting the walls of their new structure, and by so doing, have inspired new life and hope throughout the territory. Said the people: "If we are not to be abandoned by capital, we can struggle on, and triumph; but take the capital away, rob us of our means of acquiring support by labor, and we must leave the country."

We are conscious the Emigrant Aid Company has been made the target of every pop-gun throughout the country. The pro-slavery party saw that it was a powerful engine against them, because it organized emigration, and sent it here united, instead of single handed. Had isolated individuals come, they could have been frightened away; not so however, when they came by hundreds, each relying, not only on his own right arm, but upon that of his neighbors whom he had known in the East, and whose cheek was never known to blanch with fear.

Every instrumentality which villainy could invent has been devised and employed to bring the New England Emigrant Aid Company into disrepute, but it has been growing stronger daily in the good opinion of those who are acquainted with its workings, and will do so, notwithstanding the calumnies of those who are opposed to its principles, and who, from interested motives, seek its destruction. Politicians have opposed it, thinking they could observe something underlying its movements which was of a suspicious character; but we believe the American Union has no stronger advocates, or more ardent supporters than are the members of this company. They love the Union, and their Kansas investment has a view to its prolon-

gation. By establishing justice and insuring tranquility here, they hope to further the ends of the national confederacy.

The South commenced the formation of Kansas Leagues and Self-Defensive Associations long before the Emigrant Aid Company was thought of. They have been foiled in their movements, hence their extreme sensitiveness on account of the successful operations of the New England Company.

The Eastern pioneer has come to Kansas to settle down upon his claim, and with his family around him, has gone to improving the soil and erecting a home. He has laid the foundations of a future competence and is unwilling to leave it at the behests of the slave power. He came here self-reliant, depending upon his own right arm for food and shelter. Whoever looks out upon the thousand improved claims of the Northern pioneer, will concede that he has based his hopes on a proper foundation.

The South with their Aid Societies: What have they done? They have raised almost a million of capital in the South with the view of crushing out freedom here. They have *hired* the dissipated sons of wealthy planters to come here and aid them in their work. Money has been distributed with a lavish hand to pay the passage of those persons, and to supply them with spirituous liquors while on the ground. They have been sustained at great expense while engaged in their marauding expeditions against the actual settlers. They have made no improvements upon the soil, nor taken up claims. Instead of a benefit to the party and the cause which sent them here, they have been an unmitigated curse. The pro-slavery party in Kansas is infinitely worse off to-day, in consequence of this bought-up emigration, than it would have been without them. They have lost in position and numbers, because nearly every man who came here under the influence alluded to, has returned, and is reporting that it is preposterous to attempt to make Kansas a slave State. Their violence upon the Free State party has brought down a retaliatory movement on the actual pro-slavery residents, and they have felt compelled to leave the territory, taking their families and slaves with them, and giving up the country to the "abolitionists," as they term all Northern men.

The Southern movement of last winter and spring, in paying the passage of emigrants to Kansas, was followed by a counter movement in the North, which, in our opinion, has not materially strengthened our cause. Many good men came out in those expeditions, and have quietly settled down on claims, and will make valuable citizens; *but there were some adventurers who came here, like the sons of the South, that they might give vent to their wild natures. They have committed excesses, and injured us. Like the Southern bravadoes, they have "strutted their brief time on the stage, and have passed away."*

Mr. Connelley betrayed gross ignorance when he said on p. 53, already cited, of his "John Brown:"

"The Emigrant Aid Company was formed to carry out the pol-

icy announced by Wm. H. Seward, in the debate of the bill in the United States Senate."

Mr. Connelley doubtless borrowed his false statement from Cordley, but the facts are as already stated. Mr. Seward caught the idea he so forcibly expressed, from Thayer's already organized Company.

IX.

Execrate Crime.

HERE is a quotation from p. 153 of Connelley's "John Brown," to which we ask attention:

"It has been said by those more interested in exalting the names of his contemporaries than in preserving the truth of history, that John Brown, without provocation, deliberately, and with malice aforethought, went to the peaceful vales of the Pottawatomie and there took five peaceful, harmless, Christian men from their peaceful homes and their families, and, carrying them away, hewed them to pieces with broad claymores and remorselessly and fiendishly mutilated their bodies after death. If this were true, it would indeed be a just cause for condemnation. There could be nothing offered in justification, and if I believed that history did in any manner substantiate this charge, I would drop my pen here, or continue its use to *execrate the diabolical crime*."

Whether these victims of Brown's anger were Christians, or even heathen, does not alter the case. The crime is no less for killing a heretic than the killing of one in the faith, and it seems puerile to add that feature. No court under heaven would allow evidence to show the victim of murder was or was not a Christian. The law throws its protecting shield alike over the saint and the sinner. Then why is it lugged in here?

And again: No one, so far as we have knowledge, has ever contended that these men slaughtered were mutilated *after death*. John Speer, and some writers of his ilk, set up men of straw, that mutilation conveyed the idea of injury to the body after death, but

no on one ever claimed it. Mutilate signifies to "cut, wound, maim, destroy any material part of an animal body, so as to render the creature imperfect." Good ethics would teach that it is more harmful to injure a living body than a dead one. Even James Hanway wrote: "I do not think the bodies were disturbed after they were dead," as if that was part of the offence.

The writer was taught in youth that human life is sacred; that no one had the moral right to abridge that life. He grew to manhood with that teaching clinging to him, and now, through eighty-two years, more than fifty-six of them mostly spent in editorial writing for the press, he has always antagonized with his pen even capital punishment. He has often urged that in a country of law, where offenders can be made secure from further violence, the poorest use that can be made of a man is to kill him.

Mr. Connelley promises to do just exactly what Gov. Robinson did do. When the Governor learned that the men murdered were falsely maligned; that no messenger came into Brown's camp telling of violence that was perpetrated four days after the assassinations; that every allegation of Brown's defenders was false; that Brown was present and participated in the killing; that he ground his broadswords many miles distant preparatory to the murders; and that he was guided by the same spirit which actuated him at Lawrence in December of 1856, when he wanted to go out and fight the invaders at Franklin, and was only prevented from leading a party there by his arrest, Gov. Robinson, like an honorable man, denounced the outrage, just as Mr. Connelley will do if he is faithful to his convictions; for THE TIME WILL

SURELY COME, *it cannot be distant*, WHEN DAYLIGHT WILL EXPOSE THAT ENTIRE TRANSACTION.

What other character in all the history of the race has been compelled to disguise himself under false names when engaged in what his devotees declare "humane and heroic acts?" While operating in South-East Kansas, he assumed the name of Shubel Morgan, [pp. 473-4 San. "Life and Letters,"] and as such was known by Jayhawkers everywhere—a fraudulent disguise, to conceal his real character as the Pottawatomie murderer. In Iowa he was known as N. Hawkins, and so subscribed himself, while he was waiting for and begging money to make a descent on the members of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, and was getting ready for his Virginia raid. He directed his family to address him as N. Hawkins, in a letter from Rochester, N. Y., Jan 30, '58, and so he was addressed by his confidential friends. In Virginia he was first Isaac Smith, farmer, stock-buyer, miner, to disguise his movements. In his attack at Harper's Ferry he was first reported as S. C. Anderson, then he was Old Brown, afterwards Fighting Brown of Kansas when telling his captors who he was. He was John Brown, the philanthropist, when begging money to carry on his murderous raids, and when diverting means and arms sent for the relief of Kansas, to engage in treason and murder in Virginia. He may have shown himself brave under those pseudonyms, but do they betray the man of truth, open as the day, always doing right and concealing nothing? Rather do they not partake of the characteristics of the Kansas press correspondents, who under *nom de plumes*, wrote false and calumnious articles, filling the Eastern press with libels about the real actors in the great strife, and magnifying their crim-

inal heroes into mammoth proportions, almost equal to the gods?

And what other hero in all the history of the ages inaugurated his career of fame by midnight assassination? Search classic story, or sacred literature, and no parallel is found. David, who placed Uriah in the front of the fight, so he would be killed and he could get his wife was badly smirched by the transaction. Infidels are ever citing the incident, though done in open day, as proof that he was not inspired of God; while the taking of five persons from their beds at the hour of midnight, and butchering them in cold blood, with broadswords newly ground many miles distant from the scene of the barbarity, specially for the slaughter, Mr. Sanborn insists is evidence that God inspired the act, and the freedom of Kansas from chattel slavery hinged on the event. But let us remember that Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, Massachusetts, and Richard J. Hinton, whilom of Kansas, and their ecfios wherever located, were accomplices before the fact, in Brown's murders, treason, and inciting to rebellion in Virginia; that the fame of the criminal is their fame; that they gloried in the aid they rendered their hero, and magnified their own greatness by telling of his sacrifices for the freedom of the slave. The descent of an organized band of freebooters, on the peaceful valley of the Potomac, at Harper's Ferry, waging war on an unoffending people, murdering several of its inhabitants, capturing others, holding them as hostages for their own security, then burglariously breaking into a government arsenal, holding the guard in duress, killing one of them, and attempting with twenty-one men to set up a provisional government, backed by a few professional press correspondents, are classed by Brown's

partisans as "the grandest achievement of any age," entitling the commander-in-chief to immortal renown. The bull bucking the locomotive was nowhere, when compared with this GLORIOUS achievement of John Brown in making an armed warfare on an old organized government, sustained by twenty-seven millions of free people.

Bravery! It was the bravery of a maniac. The bravery of one bereft of reason. Capt. Forbes, Brown's military instructor at Tabor, Iowa, deserted him when he learned of his treasonable intentions. John E. Cook, himself, an unreasoning fanatic, remonstrated against the invasion of Virginia, as did Realf and Parsons. They saw the act was suicide, and tried to avert the danger. Others of his followers attempted to arrest his career of crime. Redpath, whose "Roving Editor" was published in the interest of a revolution against the South, passed into obscurity until the danger was over. Realf, too, instead of fulfilling his agreement of going to England to raise funds to carry on Brown's war, fled South, and the next we know of him he had married there.* Hinton, who, until his recent death, was

*I find in my Scrap Book an old newspaper clipping, without date, reading as follows:

"R. Realf, one of John Brown's men at Harper's Ferry, now a Deputy United States Assessor, in South Carolina, had his wife arrested at Augusta, Georgia, last Monday, on a charge of stealing $22 from him; but she was released, as the Georgia authorities had no jurisdiction. His wife related of the circumstance, that a domestic broil had occurred between them, prompted by the most reprehensible affiliation of her husband with abandoned negro courtezans in Columbia, during his official visit to the capital, of which he detailed the repulsive accounts to her. That during this disturbance he had thrown her out of doors, and she had resolved to throw off the burden of his yoke, and seek employment in this city. That she gained access to their residence after having been ejected, and took the money aforesaid to defray

posing as one of the "old hero's" associates, was one of the old man's biographers, and finally influenced another to take up his pen in the freebooter's defence, to malign all who did not glorify him, was probably in hiding; whilst Sanborn was quiet as the grave, to avoid arrest for being an accomplice in treason and murder, which, if we can trust his own story, he was inciting, and begging money pretendedly for other purposes, then forwarding the same to Brown, in aid of the treasonable enterprise in Virginia, and for which he deserved death as much as did his principal. Even Gerrit Smith, who donated funds, probably with no idea how they were to be used, went insane because of the act.*

her expenses."

So much for the clipping. The reader may be interested in knowing that this "Secretary of State," of Brown's "Provisional Government of the United States," who was not hung at Harper's Ferry, after the episode with his wife in Georgia, fled to San Francisco, and took him another wife, without the formality of a divorce. Pursued by the friends of the injured wife, and seeing the penitentiary yawning before him, he suicided. Hinton, who claimed to be Realf's "Literary Executor," gives the false reason for that act, that "there was some *defect* in the divorce proceedings." There were no divorce proceedings, and Realf knew it, and he cheated the State out of its penalty for bigamy by suicide.

*Said Geo. Alfred Townsend, very truthfully, quoted in the Chicago Times, in 1886, under the head of "Old John Brown:"

"Nearly every one of the same genus [with Brown] who had been privy to his plans retreated from the responsibility, and left him on the enemy's side, a deadly hostage."

Sanborn, Hinton and Realf were distinguished examples of this "retreat," but they wanted the glory just the same.

X.

An Insane Hero.

BUT WAS John Brown really insane? His acts prove it, did we lack all other evidence. Col. Blood, who met the assassin and his associates on their way to the Pottawatomie slaughter, declared his conversation, appearance and movements all betokened an insane person. The Colonel went out to Kansas with the first New England party, and aided in selecting the town site of Lawrence. He was a member of the Committee of Public Safety in 1855, was elected the first mayor of Lawrence by the free suffrages of the people, and was esteemed a gentleman of unquestioned integrity by everybody, until the "historian," Connelley, classed him as "unreliable authority." Brown, involving South-Eastern Kansas in civil war, after the territorial government and all the county offices had passed into Free State hands, his object, as given by himself, not to aid in making Kansas free, for that end was already attained, the bogus statutes having been all repealed and burned; but it was to divert attention from his grander scheme of a war on Virginia. This certainly betokened insanity. The secrecy of his movements, and constant vigils, at all hours, sleeping or waking, wary of danger, are traits peculiar to the lunatic, the intellect being quickened by irritation of the brain and spinal column, and all pointing to a diseased mind as their primal cause.

Insanity was a family trait with the Browns. In a letter from Old John, dated June, 1856, addressed to his family, and published on pp. 236-7 of Sanborn's "Life and Letters of John Brown," he says:

"John [Jr.] tried to hide for several days; but from feelings of

the ungrateful conduct of those who ought to have stood by him, excessive fatigue, anxiety and constant loss of sleep, HE BECAME QUITE INSANE."

He should have added, "and the horror that swept over him when he learned that his father and brothers had become midnight assassins."

He remained insane, with lucid intervals, while a prisoner, not under indictment for high treason as he and his friends wished it to appear, and as those allege who wrote in his interest, but as a suspect of the murders of which his father and brothers were guilty.

Among the papers written by Old John Brown, and found at his home in North Elba, N. Y., published by Sanborn in his "Life and Letters," p. 202, is this statement by the father, in regard to his son Frederick:

"And Frederick, though a very stout man, was subject to periodical sickness for many years, ATTENDED WITH INSANITY. It has been stated that he was idiotic; nothing could be more false. *He had subjected himself to a most dreadful surgical operation* but a short time before starting for Kansas."

Self-emasculated!

But let us ascend the family tree, and see what we find there. On the 27th of October, 1859, during the trial of John Brown for treason, murder and conspiracy, one of his attorneys, Lawson Botts, read the following dispatch:

"AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 26, 1859.

"TO C. J. FAULKNER AND LAWSON BOTTS:—John Brown, leader of the insurrection at Harper's Ferry, and several of his family, have resided in this county many years. INSANITY IS HEREDITARY IN THAT FAMILY. His mother's sister died with it, and a daughter of that sister has been two years in a lunatic asylum. A son and daughter of his mother's brother have also been confined in the lunatic asylum, and another son of that brother is now insane, and under close restraint. These facts can be conclusively proven by witnesses residing here, who will doubtless attend the trial if desired. A. H. LEWIS."

Wm. C. Allen, telegraphic operator at the Akron

office, added, "A. H. Lewis is a resident of this place, and his statements are entitled te implicit credit."

Brown, in jail, when consulted on the subject, said: "On my mother's side there have been repeated instances of lunacy. Some portions of the statement I know to be correct."* [See Thomas Drew's "John Brown's Invasion; an Authentic History of the Harper's Ferry Tragedy," pp. 27-8.

Brown's attorneys knew that the "insanity dodge" had been played for all it was worth; that juries had long since reached the conclusion that a person who knows enough to murder knows enough to hang for it; and as John Brown was posing for a martyr's crown and for posthumous fame, it was idle to place a hero's halo on the brow of a lunatic, so they went into court and tried the case on its merits, and Brown was hung for it, and sensible people, who were not aiders and abettors, said, "He deserved it."

Said a leading newspaper editorial recently:

"All that is necessary to escape punishment for crime is to make the offence so brutal and atrocious as to defy rivalry; then sympathy is aroused for the offender; justice laughs at the enormity of the offense, the women gather around hin on his trial, bedeck him with flowers; jurors partake of the contagion, and in spite of law, evidence, or instruction of courts, a verdict of 'not guilty' is rendered, and the prisoner, whose hands are dripping with blood, is set free to repeat his crimes."

In Virginia there was no such maudlin sympathy for John Brown. It was limited to the North, and gained expression from those who had encouraged disregard of Constitutional rights, and disrespect of law. The leaders of that sympathy were privy to Brown's folly and crimes, and were advisory to the insane project, of which Frank B. Sanborn, then a

*Physiologists tell us "Sons are more liable to inherit the diseases and idiosyncrasies of the mother than the father."

young man of some 25, was probably the deepest in the mire.

Keep in mind all the time, good reader, that Frank B. Sanborn credits this John Brown, insane as were all his acts, with making Kansas free; that he claims the result hinged on the Pottawatomie murders; that the sacrifices of those who went to Kansas a year in advance of Brown, and lost everything but honor, counted as nothing in the scale; that though Eli Thayer gave three years of laborious toil to the work, traveled more than 60,000 miles at his own expense, made more than a thousand speeches in behalf of the freedom of Kansas, turned the tide of emigration in that direction, sacrificed a fortune in the movement, yet, according to Mr. Connelley, this insane man, this criminal whose acts were so prejudicial to the cause that the people of all parties denounced them and begged him to leave the territory, which he did, taking with him the arms and means of defense sent to his care, to stay the hand of ruffianism, which arms he transported with money sent to aid Kansas, to Virginia to aid in a negro revolt in that State, which revolt never materialized nor had any existence save in Brown's crazy brain, did more for the cause of Free Kansas than Eli Thayer.

The old man had a very forcible way of expressing his bitterness against all who did not approve of his actions, hence the people of Lawrence who were unwilling to incur the crime of treason, the Herald of Freedom and its editor for denouncing his murders and jayhawking, otherwise thieving habits, came in for a full share of his invective, as did the people of Osawatomie for condemning his midnight assassinations. Redpath, in his "Life of Capt. Brown," p. 194, tells of an incident in Ohio, described by a gen-

tleman traveling with Brown in the cars during the summer of 1857, between Cleveland and Columbus. The writer says he sought to gain information from Brown as to the advantages of wool-growing in Kansas. Brown changed the subject to slavery. The correspondent expressed some views antagonistic to Brown's, when the latter "rose to his feet with clinched fist, eyes rolling like an insane man—as he most assuredly was—and remarked that the South would become free within one year were it not there were too many such scoundrels as myself to rivet the chains of slavery."

The insane man cannot brook opposition. Always agree with him, good reader, if you don't want your head broken.

XI.

The Journalist and the Historian.

A PROMINENT Republican journalist, formerly a well known government official at Washington, lately wrote a friend as follows:

"It is a clear proposition that the policy of avoiding an open conflict with the United States authorities during the Buchanan administration, was the true one for the Free State people of Kansas to pursue; and yet it was not the policy of John Brown and James H. Lane. John Brown was simply an anti-slavery anarchist, and it was because of the feelings engendered by the civil war that he became the embodiment of radical anti-slavery sentiment, and has been lauded so much by Sanborn and others.

"None of the present generation care what Sanborn, Higginson or Hinton have written. No one will write a history of Kansas from their standpoint, or refer to them as authority."

The name of the writer, which would carry so much

weight with it, is only withheld because we have not his consent for its publication.

Prof. John W. Burgess, Ph.D., LL.D., of Columbia University, N. Y., and Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, in "The American History Series," published by the Scribners, in the volume devoted to "The Middle Period, from 1817 to 1858," pp. 473-4, voices what the future historian will say of John Brown. It is becoming the sentiment of educated and thinking people everywhere. We commend his words to the careful consideration of all who have labored to make midnight assassination a patriotic act. We quote:

"The thrusting of a bogus Legislature upon Kansas was a political outrage of the first degree, and it would have justified rebellion against the execution of the enactments of that body. But it does not excuse, or even palliate, the criminal atrocities inaugurated by John Brown, at Dutch Henry's Crossing [of the Pottawatomie,] and the wild reign of murder and robbery which followed in their train. All this was common crime of the blackest and most villainous sort, and the men who engaged in it were cutthroats and highwaymen, who took advantage of the confusion in Kansas to prosecute their nefarious work.

"It is often said that the civil war began in Kansas, and simply spread from there over the country. It is true *violence* began there, and in its degeneration into savagery developed those devilish dispositions that carried murder and robbery into Virginia, and thereby helped mightily to create that intensely hostile feeling between the North and South which resulted in Civil War; but we affront good morals and common sense when we dignify those atrocities by the title of war; and we obliterate moral distinctions when we attempt to justify them by the end which their authors professed to have in view, the extermination of African slavery throughout the country.

Such deeds are not means to anything except the establishment of the reign of hell on earth. And the maudlin adoration sometimes accorded their doers is evidence of an unbalanced moral sense. It is a source of congratulation that the juristic sense of the last decades of the nineteenth century refuses to place the crank who kills or robs for what he considers, or professes to consider, the welfare of society under any other class than that of the most dangerous criminals. It remains for the ethical sense of the twentieth century to sweep the hero-worship, too often accorded such characters, out of the world's literature."

XII.

A Great Error.

MANY suppose the War of the Rebellion was engaged in to carry out the plan of forcible emancipation projected by John Brown. This is wholly in disregard of truth. The Republican party, in its platform of principles following the John Brown raids into Missouri, and, later, into Virginia, convened in National Convention at Chicago, May 16, 1860, less than six months after Brown's execution, climaxed by the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, declared in the 4th section of its platform:

"We denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, *no matter under what pretext*, as among THE GRAVEST OF CRIMES."

The afterwards-martyred President Lincoln, less than three months after the execution of Old John Brown and his associate "gravest of criminals," which a class of men through all these subsequent years have been laboring to glorify, in his admirable speech at the Cooper Institute, New York, February 27

1860, less than three months before his nomination for the Presidency, said:

"John Brown's effort [at insurrection] was peculiar. It was not a *slave* insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with many attempts related in history, at the assassination of Kings and Emperors. An *enthusiast* broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than in his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same."

When Mr. Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, it was not in furtherance of Brown's liberation scheme, but because the slaves were "contraband of war." The negro was an element of strength to the Confederates, by reason of his availability as a producer of munitions of war, and a soldier for active service, therefore his emancipation.

Following so closely on Brown's raid into Virginia, and misled by the John Brown song, sung on the march and around camp fires, an adaptation of one long in use, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," designed more to annoy and vex the South than to declare a principle, or be true in fact, the young and thoughtless of that period, and the new generation which followed, supposed the war was waged solely to crush the institution which caused the South to revolt; whereas it was to preserve the Union intact which the slaveholders and John Brown labored to destroy; the one to perpetuate slavery, the other to crush it.

What purported to be an Associated Press dispatch appeared in some of the newspapers, possibly in all, in April, 1893, saying: "An ærolite recently fell from heaven, struck an arm of the statue of John Brown, at Osawatomie, and broke it from the body." We have made diligent inquiry, but can find no mutilated statue, and, in fact, no statue at all, of the so-called "hero." The story was doubtless mythical; though Hinton, p. 91 "John Brown and His Men," mentions a statue. It seems more probable Infinite Justice would deport itself in such a manner, and destroy a work of art made to do honor to a murderer, yes, a midnight assassin, than to inspire that assassin to creep stealthily into the home of peaceful sleepers, and slaughter them as butchers slaughter beeves! No appeals for justice, no cries for mercy, no moans of a sick wife asking for pity, were listened to; but the hot blood spirting from many a wound like that of stuck swine soon closed the agony of the dying, while the murderers passed on, says Sanborn, "inspired of God" to consummate other "executions." Jim Lane, thanks for your long, bony finger pointing heavenward, and the exclamation, "GREAT GOD!" It should circle the globe in a continuous lament, and sound forever in the ears of those who indorse, or even apologize for such damnable deeds!

Every midnight assassin, and every heartless wretch who has dyed his hands in human gore since "the stars first sang together," can approach the throne of the Eternal, and tell its occupant that he was inspired to slay his victim, and expects approbation therefor, with as much grace as can Frank B. Sanborn and his coterie of blatant and blasphemous associate eulogists demand applause for their bloody-handed hero. The author of "The Life and Letters

of John Brown" must have supposed his readers were idiots or lunatics when he attempted to shift the responsibility for midnight assassination from his hero to the Great God himself.

Connelley, in a note to his "John Brown," pp. 144-5, says: "G. W. Brown's Reminiscences of Old John Brown, published in 1880, is one of the most unfair and malicious in spirit ever written."

The pamphlet was made up from the columns of one of the several Republican newspapers in which the matter appeared as a serial, requiring some six months for its entire publication. Its "maliciousness" consisted in *proving* John Brown not only approved, as he claimed, but absolutely led the parties, and fired the first shot, killing the older Doyle. No vituperation or abuse was indulged in. Several prominent Republican journals almost censured us for not presenting this prince of bandits in his true colors. The Boston *Journal* said, in its review:

"Dr. Brown does not directly state that Captain John Brown led the party [of assassins] but he proves it! 'I will not call him a liar,' once said a noted man of another, 'I will prove him one!' Dr. Brown effectually takes this course."

Said the *Journal* of Rhode Island:

"It is difficult to understand how the writer, who must realize so forcibly the truth he presents, could refrain from bitterest invective against the execrable character he has so faithfully delineated."

On p. 17 of that pamphlet, we said:

"Before the evidence is finally closed, Brown's friends will withdraw their attempt to prove an *alibi*, and rely upon *justifying*, else set up the plea of *insanity*."

When the evidence of guilt was so overwhelming that lying availed no longer, then, as we long before suggested, Sanborn sprung his new defence on the public, and maintained the murderer was commissioned by God, the Supreme Ruler of the universe, to

slaughter those men. We admit we stood aghast at such a blasphemous assertion. We supposed the Christian world would revolt at the horrible assumption; instead many of the clergy accepted the statement as truth, and added another saint to their calendar. We hope it was not because, as an eye witness, a Free State prisoner in their hands, reported: "The next morning after the butchery, sitting down to a camp breakfast, the old man raised his hands to Heaven, to ask a blessing; *they were stained with the dried blood of his victims.*"* Brown was ever quoting Paul: "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission," and in that act he was executing the Divine will, else Sanborn lied. Which? We take it Mr. S. belongs to that school of Comeouters, which rejected the church and its teachings because, as they alleged, it was in "league with death and a covenant with hell" in sustaining slavery. The writer hated the institution of slavery no less than they, and sacrificed the best years of his life, a prosperous business, and the companionship of devoted friends, to prevent its extension; but he never encouraged murder, nor a war on the government, nor repudiated his religious faith, nor charged God with inspiring assassination, because of it.

XIII.

A Word Picture for the Painter's Brush.

IN ALL the history of what is termed "civilized warfare," a very incongruous expression at best, —it is questionable if a parallel can be found to this savage butchery. The only approach to it was dur-

*See Sanborn's "Life and Letters of John Brown," p. 270 n.

ing the War of the Revolution, when on June 30, 1778, tories and Indians, under the command of Col. John Butler, made an armed descent on Wyoming Valley, a fertile region on the Susquehanna, in Luzerne county, Pennsylvania. The Indians, turned loose, fell upon the adult male population, and massacred every one of them; then they burned the houses, leaving the widows and orphans without food or shelter. Curses deep and lasting have been heaped on the execrable wretches guilty of those diabolical and inhuman barbarities during all the subsequent years.

Shall he who led in this midnight slaughter on the Pottawatomie; who took unarmed men and boys, in a time of peace, slumbering in beds in their own quiet homes, out into the darkness of night, then cut, slashed and stabbed them with heavy broadswords, leaving their mutilated bodies where they had fallen, brains oozing from their cleft skulls, and blood pouring in deathly torrents from many ghastly wounds, be immortalized in story and song, credited, because of the act, with holding a commission from Heaven to perpetrate the savage brutality, and be classed as the liberator of a great people laboring to free themselves by peaceful means from the chains of slavery?

Great God, No! Brown's worshipers have idolized him already too long, in a foolish attempt to magnify their own importance as his associates, and indorsers of his many crimes; but his name and theirs will be universally execrated so soon as the real facts surrounding this murderous raid shall be fully known to a thinking world.

The writer was recently invited, in the interest of a young painter now touring Europe to perfect himself in his vocation, by visiting and critically examining

the works of the great masters, preserved and exhibited in the National Galleries of art, to name some event or incident in the pioneer history of his natal State, worthy of perpetuation by his skill and brush. It is probably needless to write, it will not be a picture of a body of "cutthroats,"—setting an example for Capt. Hamilton, Jesse James and Wm. Quantrell, to imitate in many respects a little later,—covertly entering the Pottawatomie Valley at midnight, forcing their way into the pioneer cabin of a humble carpenter, taking him and his two sons, mere boys, out into the darkness, shooting the father in the forehead, and slashing him with swords, then falling on the frightened youths, thrusting, cutting, slashing and mutilating them in a merciless manner, leaving them dead where they had fallen, the warm blood gushing from severed arteries and veins, forming great clotted pools all around them. The picture, if truthful to facts, would be too black, ghastly and devilish to attract the attention of the lovers of art, anywhere, or in any age, unless among brutal savages. Dante's Inferno would not equal it in barbaric horror. The other murders in the immediate vicinity on the same night added to the picture could scarcely aggravate its loathsomeness.

While penning these pages a letter from that touring artist, dated Madrid, Spain, came to hand. He had just finished reading our recent "Reminiscences of Gov. Walker," sent him by a friend, with the "True Story of the Rescue of Kansas from Slavery," so he wrote;

"The Voting Policy in those times seems to me eminently reasonable. As a painter I might feel inclined to think the extreme radicalism, in its various manifestations, was more *picturesque*, yet as a man of common sense, with the wisdom of after events, I uphold the soundness of the peaceful method employed for making Kansas free."

So the artistic judgment of the painter would agree with us in not selecting this tragic scene on the Pottawatomie as a worthy subject for his pencil. Then we suggest for his consideration the following:

A group of the minor Latin deities, with KNOWLEDGE, showering intelligence on the youth of his natal State; while the genius of RELIGION is teaching them to do as they would be done by; and the genius of TRUTH is instructing them not to bear false witness, or record a lie, passing it for history; and the genius of VIRTUE inculcates that pure lives are not gained by wallowing in blood; while the genius of FAME, with a nimbus of glory, in a new role, carries aloft an escutcheon, emblazoned in living light, bearing, PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN! At the same time zig-zag flashes of lightning appear in the clouds, and through a rift, dropped by the hand of Omnipotence, is seen an open scroll, bearing in letters of living flame the command: THOU SHALT NOT KILL! Far back in the distance may appear in dim perspective a group of Bashi-Bazouks, each armed with broad navy swords, freshly ground, with muzzle-loading muskets, and belts filled with daggers and voltaic repeaters, reclining on the grass at their morning meal, the hands of the leader uplifted to heaven covered with dried blood, asking blessings on their last night's labor; while indistinctly, still more distant in the background, representing starlight only, appear the midnight marauders, cutting, slashing, stabbing their victims. If not overburdening the picture, in one corner may appear a group, consisting of Richard J. Hinton and Wm. E. Connelley, fulminating lies to the glory of the Bashi-Bazouks, with Frank B. Sanborn proclaiming: "They are inspired by God to kill, and on that killing hinges the freedom of Kansas and the whole country."

XIV.

What the Browns Said About the Murders.

HE WHO has access to the different statements of the Brown family, as published from time to time in the public press, and will read with care their accounts of the Pottawatomie assassinations, and events leading to them, will detect the frauds of the apologists for those crimes. Jason Brown, the second son of Old John, in the Akron Beacon, of Jan 21, 1880, said, among other things:

"I cannot dispute any of Mr. Townsley's statements, except some unimportant, and I have no doubt unintentional, mistakes on his part. All he said of us up to the time they [the assassins] left our camp near Ottawa Creek, is true, every word of it, according to the best of my remembrance."—See John Brown Scrap Book, Vol. 1, p. 119.

After detailing the movements of John, Jr.'s company, and other matters, Jason continues:

"On our way [to Liberty Hill] a man made up to us from the South, saying five pro-slavery men had been killed on the Pottawatomie Creek, and horribly cut and mutilated, and that Old John Brown and his party had done it. This was the first news we had from my father and his company after they left us near Ottawa Creek. The thought it might be true, that my father and his company could do such a thing was terrible, and nearly deprived me of my reason for the time.* . . I first met my father near my brother's cabin, *(our cabins were empty, and our families had gone to Osawatomie for safety while we were at Palmyra.)* I then asked him if he had anything to do with the killing of the pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie. I think he said, (but cannot be certain that he denied it:) 'I did not do it but I approved of it.' I told him that whoever did it, I thought it was an uncalled-for, wicked act."†

*John, Jr., insane, Jason almost insane, Frederick insane, how much less than insane was the father? Will some good pathological expert answer? Col. James Blood, and many others who knew of Old John's actions, insisted he was a mono-maniac,—deranged on one subject,—and that is the writer's opinion. Stubborn, deaf to reason, his every action until generous blood-letting at Harper's Ferry, betrayed evidence of a diseased mind.

†Three other statements of Jason Brown which appeared in other papers, of which we have newspaper clippings in our John Brown Scrap Books, no reference or hint is made of a doubt of the father's guilt. The statement here quoted from the Cleveland Leader, was made after the facts were established beyond the possibility of cavil, while Sanborn was concocting his "inspired of God" defence for the assassin.

In a reported interview appearing in an Akron paper, Jason was asked if he condemned the act. He replied:

"Yes, I very strongly condemned the act in his [father's] presence, as I condemn it now."

Jason Brown had too much sense to adopt Sanborn's "inspired of God" nonsense. Only an old-time Comeouter, who rejected Divine inspiration, could invent such a blasphemous apology for crime. Even Connelley, with all his falsehoods borrowed from Hinton, gave no credit to that marvelous discovery of his predecessor. He preferred the inexact cock-and-bull stories of the little Englishman, a confessed accessory before the fact to Brown's treason and murder in Virginia.

Now the statement of John Brown, Jr., as given in a letter to the Cleveland Leader, of Nov. 10, 1883, in reply to Rev. David N. Utter, who had visited the widow Doyle, near Chattanooga, Tenn., and published at length in the North American Review a full account of that interview. After detailing events in the spring of 1856, the collecting of his company, and march towards Lawrence; their arrival at Middle Creek, a few miles south of Palmyra, where they learned from Capt. Shore "that Lawrence had been destroyed; that the leading Free State men were prisoners in the hands of Missourians, that the force which had taken Lawrence had divided, and were engaged in the work of destruction and pillage in other parts of the territory, [a statement not true,] and that 400 men under Buford were in camp a few miles east of us, then John, Jr., continues:

"*It was now and here resolved that they, their aiders* and abettors who sought *to kill our suffering people should themselves be killed, and in such manner as should be likely to cause a restraining fear.* Father, at that time a member of my company, pro-

posed to return with several of my men. At first I questioned the wisdom of reducing our numbers as we were near a superior force, but as he asked for only a few men no opposition was made. We aided him in his outfit. *I assisted in the sharpening* of his navy *cutlasses*. . . No man of our entire number could fail to understand that a *retaliatory* blow would fall."

Now here are the plain, unvarnished facts as to the motive of the assassinations. Every other statement, without regard to who made it, even if John, Jr., himself, are afterthoughts and falsifications as an apology for the crime. The story of outrages by the men slain; of messengers from the rear entering camp, telling of those outrages, and asking for help, every one of them is false. Had such been the case John, Jr., would have told of it in this connection; but he was wholly silent. He could not be otherwise and be truthful. The murdered men had not been to Lawrence; in no way had participated in the outrages there on the Wednesday previous to the assassinations. If a messenger had come into camp telling of outrages to the families of officers of their company, the Captain and every member would have retraced his steps; and instead of creeping stealthily during the darkness of night into the neighborhood, they would have made a rush in open day and shot down the aggressors. In that case no honest man would have complained. It was the act of savages stalking for human prey, and, though a lie, Wm. A. Phillips did the best he could to charge it upon the wild Indians of the plains. His book, "The Conquest of Kansas," was published during the Presidential contest for Fremont in 1856, and was largely circulated as a campaign document. There was no justification for the damnable act, and he falsified that glory might abound to our party because of that lie.

Mrs. Robinson in her "Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life," published at the same time and cov-

ering the same period as Phillips' book, as she could not lie to cover the guilt of a barbarian, remained silent.

The only truthful things told of the victims of Brown's anger: Sherman was a large man with property; Wilkinson was postmaster under President Pierce, and was a member of the territorial legislature; while the Doyles were in favor of excluding the negro, bond or free, from Kansas, therefore, in the language of Old John, they ought to be killed "to show that some things can be done as well as others," an expression he borrowed from Sam Patch, who, about 1829, made a fatal leap of Genesee Falls, at Rochester, N. Y., and demonstrated in his death, as did Brown a little later, the truth of his words.

Mentor, representing the Chicago Herald, writing from Cleveland Jan. 12, 1884, who accepted an invitation from Jason Brown to visit him in Akron, for the purpose of writing a defence of the Brown family for those murders, gives an account of "a messenger" entering camp while they were "near Ottawa Creek," not from the Pottawatomie, with frightful stories of Border Ruffian outrages, but from Lawrence. After telling what the ruffians had done at Lawrence, Mentor says:—See p. 23, Vol. 2, John Brown Scrap Book:

"This messenger also brought word that the Free State leaders desired the armed forces in the camp to turn back, as they were negotiating peace, and amid the ashes of their town were endeavoring to stay the shedding of blood and destruction of property. To the fearless, intense John Brown this policy of conciliation in the face of such fearful injury must have seemed mere cowardice. Submission to the pillagers, murderers and incendiaries, peaceful citizens cowing before ruffianly invaders forbidden for prudential reasons, to rush to the work of chastisement and protection. How the fires of the old man's strong passions must have burned on receipt of such dire and humiliating news."

The reader will remember E. A. Coleman's state-

ment, that when peace was negotiated in December of 1856, and a bloody issue was avoided, he said: "Brown was the maddest man I ever saw," and "he denounced Robinson and Lane in vindictive terms."

We have Brown's own words, in a letter to his family, dated "Near Osawatomie, June 26, 1856," the first he wrote after the horrible murders. He said:

"We were immediately after this [stopping travelers and taking their horses] accused of murdering five men at Pottawatomie, and great efforts have been made by Missourians and other ruffians to capture us."*

Observe, please, Brown did not say he was *falsely* charged with the killing, but he goes on to tell how cruelly John was treated by the people of Osawatomie, who betrayed him into the hands of the bogus men. He had said in an earlier part of the letter:

"Lawrence was destroyed in this way: Their leading men had (as I think) decided, in a very cowardly manner, not to resist any process having any Government official to serve it, notwithstanding the process might be wholly a bogus affair!"

Then Brown goes on to tell of the *cowardly*, mean conduct of the people, and concludes with:

"It is said that both the Lawrence and Osawatomie men, when the ruffians came on them, either hid or gave up their arms, and that the leading men counseled to take such a course."—See "Life and Letters of John Brown," pp. 236, 237.

What had the people of Osawatomie done to incur the displeasure of this good man "inspired of God" to murder? Turn to p. 132 Andrea's History of Kansas, and read:

"At a meeting of the citizens of Pottawatomie Creek [near Osawatomie] without distinction of parties, held at the branch between Messrs. Potter and Partridges, on the 27th day of May 1856, (three days after the killing), C. H. Rice was chosen chairman and H. H. Williams secretary. The chairman then stated the object of the meeting, and a committee was appointed to take

*Sanborn, in a note at this point, says: "In the original something has been erased after this, to which this note seems to have been appended: '*There are but very few who wish real facts about these matters to go out.*'" The probabilities are, this erasure and note in Brown's letter were made before Sanborn discovered the "old hero" was "inspired to murder."

the subject under consideration. The committee consisted of R. Golding, R. Gilpatrick, N. C. Dow, S. V. Vanderman, A. Castele, and John Blunt. After consultation, the committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and a copy of them ordered to be printed:

"'Whereas, an outrage of the darkest and foulest nature has been committed in our midst by some *midnight assassins* unknown, who have taken five of our citizens at the hour of midnight from their homes and families, and murdered and mangled them in an awful manner; to prevent a repetition of these deeds, we deem it necessary to adopt some measures for our mutual protection and to aid and assist in bringing these desperadoes to justice. Under these circumstances, we propose to act up to the following resolutions:

"'*Resolved*, That we will from this time lay aside all sectional and political feelings and act together as men of reason and common sense, determined to oppose all men who are so ultra in their views as to denounce men of opposite opinions.

"'*Resolved*, That we will repudiate and discountenance all organized bands of men who leave their homes for the avowed purpose of exciting others to acts of violence, believing it to be the duty of all good-disposed citizens to stay at home during these exciting times and protect, and, if possible, restore the peace and harmony of the neighborhood; furthermore, we will discountenance all armed bodies of men who may come amongst us from any other part of the territory or from the States, unless said parties shall come under the authority of the United States.

"'*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to prevent the occurrence of a similar tragedy, and to ferret out and hand over to the criminal authorities the perpetrators for punishment.

"'H. H. Williams, Secretary,
"'R. Golding, Chairman,
"'N. C. Dow,
"'A. Castele,

"'C. H. Price, President,
"'R. Gilpatrick,
"'S. V. Vanderman,
"'John Blunt,
"'*Committee.*'"

XV.

Connelley's Attention Solicited.

AT THE instance of Gov. Charles Robinson, then President of the Kansas Historical Society, the writer wrote and published in the Rockford Gazette, and in two Kansas newspapers, and afterwards a very large edition in pamphlet form, his Reminiscences of Old John Brown, making near

one hundred, double column, octavo pages. During its publication in the papers a vast amount of criticism, favorable and adverse, was called out by the still living actors of those pioneer days. Although the evidence was almost conclusive of Brown's guilty leadership of that murderous raid, yet Sanborn, Brown's biographer and eulogist, insisted he would not believe he was personally connected with that massacre, unless an eye witness to the occurrence should so assert, for Brown denied being present and one of the murdering party, yet he said he approved of the killing.

Parties in Lawrence, Kansas, found an eye witness, who was a *particeps criminis* still living, who would tell the truth. JOHN HUTCHINGS, Esq., an attorney at Lawrence, undertook the task of securing his statement. That person was found in JAMES TOWNSLEY, then residing within a few miles of the awful tragedy. His statement, made in the presence of several neighbors, some over-zealous friends of the assassin, was reduced to writing by Attorney Hutchings, Dec. 6, 1879, was signed by Townsley, and was published in the Lawrence Journal immediately after, from which we copy:

"I am a native of Hartford county, state of Maryland, and was born August 29, 1815. I enlisted in company I, Capt. Benjamin L. Bell, Second United States dragoons, and served five years in the war waged against the Seminole and Creek Indians, a part of the time under the command of Gen. Taylor, and was discharged in August, 1844, at Fort Washita, Indian territory. I am a painter by trade, and followed that business in Fallston, in my native county, until October 20, 1855, when I emigrated to Kansas with my family, and settled in Anderson county, on the Pottawatomie creek, about one mile west of Greeley. I joined the Pottawatomie rifle company at its re-organization in May, 1856, at which time John Brown, Jr., was elected captain. On the 21st of the same month information was received that the Georgians were marching on Lawrence, threatening its destruction. The company was immediately called together, and about 4 o'clock p.

m. we started on a forced march to aid in its defence. About two miles south of Middle Creek we were joined by the Osawatomie company under Capt. Dayton, and proceeded to Mount Vernon, where we waited about two hours, until the moon rose. We then marched all night, camping the next morning, the 22d, for breakfast, near Ottawa Jones'. Before we arrived at this point news had been received that Lawrence had been destroyed, and a question was raised whether we should return or go on. During the forenoon, however, we proceeded up Ottawa creek to within about five miles of Palmyra, and went into camp near the residence of Captain Shore. Here we remained undecided over night. About noon the next day, the 23d, old John Brown came to me and said he had just received information that *trouble was expected on the Pottawatomie*, and wanted to know if I would take my team and take him and his boys back so that they could *keep watch* of what was going on. I told him I would do so. The party, consisting of old John Brown, Frederick Brown, Owen Brown, Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, Henry Thompson [John Brown's son-in-law,] and Mr. Winer, were soon ready for the trip, and we started, as near as I can remember, about 2 o'clock p. m. All of the party, except Mr. Winer, who rode a pony, rode with me in my wagon. When within two or three miles of the Pottawatomie creek, we turned off the main road to the right, drove down to the edge of the timber between two deep ravines, and camped about one mile above Dutch Henry's crossing.

"After my team was fed and the party had taken supper, John Brown told me for the first time what he proposed to do. He said he wanted me to pilot the company up to the forks of the creek, some five or six miles above, into the neighborhood where I lived, and *show them where all the pro-slavery men resided;* that *he proposed to sweep the creek as he came down of all the pro-slavery men living on it.* I positively refused to do it. He insisted upon it, but when he found that I would not go he decided to postpone the expedition until the following night. I then wanted to take my team and go home, but he would not let me do so, and said I should remain with them. We remained in camp that night and all day the next day. Sometime after dark we were ordered to march.

"We started, the whole company, in a northerly direction, crossing Mosquito creek above the residence of the Doyles. Soon after crossing the creek some one of the party knocked at the door of a cabin, but received no reply—I have forgotten whose cabin it was, if I knew at the time. The next place we came to was the residence of the Doyles. John Brown, three of his sons and son-in-law went to the door, leaving Frederick Brown, Winer and myself a short distance from the house. About this time a large dog attacked us. Frederiek Brown struck the dog a blow with his short, two-edged sword, after which I dealt him a blow with my saber, and heard no more of him. The old man Doyle and two sons were called out and marched some distance from the

house toward Dutch Henry's in the road, where a halt was made. *Old John Brown drew his revolver and shot the old man Doyle in the forehead*, and Brown's two youngest sons immediately fell upon the younger Doyles with their short two-edged swords.

"One of the young Doyles was stricken down in an instant, but the other attempted to escape, and was pursued a short distance by his assailant and cut down. The company then proceeded down Mosquito creek to the house of Allen Wilkinson. Here the old man Brown, three of his sons, and son-in-law, as at the Doyle residence, went to the door and ordered Wilkinson to come out, leaving Frederick Brown, Winer and myself standing in the road east of the house. Wilkinson was taken and marched some distance south of his house and slain in the road, with a short sword, by one of the younger Browns. After he was killed his body was dragged out to one side and left.

"We then crossed the Pottawatomie and came to the house of Henry Sherman, generally known as Dutch Henry. Here John Brown and the party, excepting Frederick Brown, Winer and myself, who were left outside a short distance from the door, went into the house and brought out one or two persons, talked with them some, and then took them in again. They afterward brought out William Sherman, Dutch Henry's brother, marched him down into the Pottawatomie creek, where he was slain with swords by Brown's two youngest sons, and left lying in the creek.

"It was the expressed intention of Brown to execute Dutch Henry also, but he was not found at home. He also hoped to find George Wilson, Probate Judge of Anderson county, there, and intended, if he did, to kill him too. Wilson had been notifying Free State men to leave the territory. I had received such a notice from him myself.

"I desire to say here that it is not true that there was any intentional mutilation of the bodies after they were killed. They were slain as quickly as possible and left, and whatever gashes they received were inflicted in the process of cutting them down with swords. I understand that the killing was done with these swords so as to avoid alarming the neighborhood by the discharge of firearms.

"I desire also to say that I did not then approve of the killing of those men, but *Brown said it must be done, for the protection of the Free State settlers; that it was better that a score of bad men should die than that one man who came here to make Kansas a free state should be driven out.*

"Brown wanted me to pilot the party into the neighborhood where I lived, and point out all the pro-slavery men in it, whom *he proposed to put to death.* I positively refused to do it, and on account of my refusal I remained in camp all of the night upon which the first attack was to be made, and the next day. I told him I was willing to go with him to Lecompton and attack the leaders, or fight the enemy in open field anywhere, but I did not

want to engage in killing these men. That night and the acts then perpetrated are vividly fixed in my memory, and I have thought of them many times since.

"I then thought that the transaction was terrible, and have mentioned it to but few persons since. In after time, however, I became satisfied that it resulted in good to the Free State cause, and was especially beneficial to the Free State settlers on Pottawatomie creek. The pro-slavery men *were dreadfully terrified*, and large numbers of them soon left the territory. It was afterward said that one Free State man could scare a company of them. I always understood that Geo. W. Grant came to our camp on Ottawa creek, near Capt. Shore's, with a message from his father, John T. Grant, to John Brown, asking for protection from threatened assaults of the Shermans and other pro slavery ruffians. But I did not know Geo. W. Grant at the time, and do not remember of seeing him. I frequently heard the circumstance mentioned as a fact. After the killing of William Sherman, some time after midnight, we all went back to camp, about one mile distant, where we had left my team and other things. We remained in camp until after noon of the following day, and then started to join the Pottawatomie company under John Brown, Jr. When we reached Ottawa Jones' about midnight, we found them in camp at that place.

"The next morning the company was called together just after breakfast, and John Brown, Jr., announced his resignation, and requested the company to elect another captain in his place. The name of H. H. Williams, now of Osawatomie, and my own were presented and a vote taken which resulted in the election of Williams. The company then broke camp and started for home. After crossing Middle creek at Mount Vernon, John Brown, with the rest of the party who accompanied him on the Pottawatomie expedition, fell back from the balance of the company and struck off to the left of the main Pottawatomie road, in the direction of the cabins of John Brown, Jr., and Jason Brown. That night we staid at the cabin of the former, keeping up a guard all night. The next night we went to Jason Brown's, about one mile and a half away. Here we remained several days, all the time on the watch. While we remained here August Bundy, and I think Benjamin L. Cochran, joined us. After several days, as I now remember, a young man by the name of Carpenter came to us from Prairie City and gave the information that Capt. Pate was in the vicinity in search of Brown. That evening we all took horses and started for Prairie City, where we arrived next morning about daylight and camped in the timber on Ottawa creek, near Capt. Shore's. While John Brown was cooking breakfast for the company, James Redpath came into our camp and had some conversation with Capt. Brown.

"I saw Redpath again after the battle of Black Jack, near Blue Mound, and I desire to say in this connection, that I never told Redpath at any time that John Brown was not present at the Pot-

tawatomie tragedy. His statement, which was read to me, to the effect that "two squatters who aided in the execution," gave him such information, is *totally false*, so far as I am concerned. As Winer and myself were the only settlers in the neighborhood not members of Brown's family who were present at the tragedy, I can only conclude he referred to us. In the afternoon, after we camped in the woods near Capt. Shore's, we moved up to Prairie City. We picketed out our horses and laid down not over a hundred yards from the store. About the middle of the afternoon six of Pate's men came riding into town, four of whom we captured and held as prisoners. During the afternoon Capt. Shore raised a company of about thirty men, and in the evening we started in pursuit of Pate. The next morning before daylight we obtained information that he was camped at Black Jack point, and we moved forward with about twenty-four men to attack him. When within a mile of Pate's forces we all dismounted, left seven men iu charge of the horses, and, with seventeen men, made the attack. In about fifteen minutes we drove them into the ravine. The fight continued about three hours when Pate surrendered. About the time we got the captured arms loaded into the wagons ready to move, Maj. Abbott's company came up and we all marched back to Prairie City with the prisoners. Here we remained until Col. Sumner released them.

"At this time I left John Brown, and in company with Charley Lenhart and many other Lawrence parties, camped in the timber near Ottawa Jones'.

"I make this statement at the urgent request of my friends and neighbors, Judge James Hanway and Hon. Johnson Clarke, who have been present during all the time occupied in writing it out, and in whose hearing it has been several times read before signing.

"LANE, Kan., Dec. 6, 1879. JAMES TOWNSLEY.

Fortunately, just as Townsley's statement appeared in the Journal, Geo. W. Grant and his brother, H. C. Grant, arrived in Lawrence from California, and joined in a statement over their own signatures, which was published in the Journal of December 11, 1879. They told of a messenger arriving in camp from Lawrence, but knew nothing of any one from Pottawatomie creek, for the simple reason there was none. At the time Mr. Hutchings visited Mr. Townsley, to gain his statement, Mr. Hanway, and other personal admirers of John Brown, collected in considerable numbers, and in consequence of their importunate insistence, somewhat influenced Mr. Townsley

in that part of his statement regarding a messenger.

The Grants in their statement, which will be found at length on p. 71 of our "Reminiscences of Old John Brown," said:

"The effect of this massacre on the inhabitants of the creek, was to greatly alarm both parties. The pro-slavery settlers almost entirely left at once and the Free State people were constantly fearful of vengeance. As a matter of fact, there was no more killing on either side in that neighborhood. Dutch Henry —Henry Sherman, was killed in the spring of 1857, but politics had nothing to do with it."

Mr. Connelley, knowing how important such messenger was to the fame of his hero, and not able to find any one else, in his "John Brown," note 2, p. 209, says: "H. H. Williams carried this message," and cites Hinton for authority.

Mr. Connelley should know by this time that the character of his witness, Hinton, for truth and integrity is impeached. No statement made by him can be trusted. He wrote the Boston Traveler, December, 1859, that John Brown told him he was 25 miles distant, and had no hand in killing those men on the Pottawatomie, though he approved of it, and he clinched the matter by saying that John Brown could not lie. When the matter was proved beyond the possibility of cavil, like Sanborn, Hinton concluded he did not understand the old man correctly. That is what some people call hedging.

H. H. Williams was a fellow prisoner with the writer during the summer, and into the autumn of 1856, as was John Brown, Jr., held partly as suspects for these Pottawatomie murders. Each, with John Jr.'s wife, mingled freely with the prisoners, and only mentioned those murders to condemn them. Williams was the Lieutenant of John's company, and was elected Captain when John resigned, crazed by the

news of those "inspired" murders. Mr. Connelley, we crave your attention:

Augustus Wattles was in the service of the writer during most of the summer of 1857. His time was mostly spent in collecting material and writing a History of Kansas, which was published as a serial in the columns of the Herald of Freedom, and has been drawn upon very largely, of course without credit, by nearly every person who has attempted to write of those pioneer days. We will say, in passing, we paid $100 a month for Mr. Wattles' labors, as our account books, still preserved, will show. When in town Mr. Wattles had a table in the chamber of our old residence, in which was a chest where he stored his manuscripts. That chest by accident came into the possession of Capt. W. O. Hubbell. While our "Reminiscences of Old John Brown" was running through the Kansas press, in 1880, the Lawrence Journal published in its editorial columns the following:

Mr. Connelley, have we your attention?

The article is preserved in our John Brown Scrap Book, Vol. 1, p. 77, just as printed, which we copy verbatim:

"On Wednesday, the 21st of May, I received a message from Lawrence to the effect that a large company of 'Border Ruffians' were congregating near that place for the purpose of destroying the town. I immediately mounted a horse and rode ten miles up the creek, and aroused the 'Pottawatomies,' and by six o'clock in the evening thirty-four men, armed and equipped, met at the rendezvous at the junction of the Osawatomie road with the California road. The 'Marion Rifles' and 'Pomeroy Guards' from Osawatomie were to meet us here by agreement, but instead of a company of men only two came, and reported that another messenger from Lawrence had arrived, who contradicted the former report, and the Osawatomie companies would await further orders; the 'Pottawatomies,' however, agreed to push on to Lawrence and ascertain for themselves the facts of the case.

"Accordingly, we moved on to Middle Creek, and camped for supper and rested till midnight, when we struck our tents and moved on, crossing Middle Creek and the Marias des Cygnes with

difficulty, on account of the high water. When about half way between the Marias des Cygnes and Ottawa creeks we met a messenger from the vicinity of Lawrence who reported that the 'Border Ruffians' had taken the town and razed it to the ground. This startling news was received in silence by the company; then the word 'onward' was passed along the line and vengeance was written in the lineaments of every countenance.

"We pushed on and arrived at Ottawa creek at break of day. Here we halted a few minutes to break our fast and bait our horses. In the meantime a messenger was dispatched to Osawatomie to arouse the settlers. After resting a few minutes we pushed on to Prairie City, where we learned that there was no organized Free State force in Lawrence and that the 'Border Ruffians' were in possession of Blanton's Bridge and assembled in force at Lecompton. We concluded to encamp at Prairie City, where we were joined by Company C, of Kansas Volunteers, under command of Capt Shores.

"On the 23d we were joined by the Pomeroy Guards, Capt. Dayton. Here we heard that Gov. Robinson was on his way from Westport to Lecompton, a prisoner, guarded by a company of 'Border Ruffians.' We immediately struck our tents, and moved to Palmyra, where we were joined by the 'Marion Rifles,' Capt. Updegraff, which increased our force to about 130 fighting men.

"On the 24th Capt. Brown, of the 'Pottawatomie Rifles,' with scouting party, went into Lawrence. Upon his return he reported that the Free State Hotel and Governor Robinson's house had been burned and the two printing presses destroyed, and the town sacked according to 'law and order' by a posse of South Carolinians, Georgians, and 'Border Ruffians,' headed by United States Marshal Donaldson and Sheriff Jones. Upon the receipt of this news we broke up our camp and returned home, each company dispersing its members with the understanding to be ready to come together at any time when their services should be required.

"On our way home from Palmyra we received intelligence of a disturbance in Pottawatomie, in which five pro-slavery men were killed. Upon our return we found the settlement in a terrible state of excitement; a number of families had left for the States, and those that remained called a meeting without distinction of party, and passed resolutions pledging to protect each other from mobs or invading foes of either party. How well these pledges were kept by the pro-slavery party I will endeavor to show:

"On Wednesday, the 28th, I heard that a company of 100 men on horseback were coming into the settlement. I started immediately in company with two prominent pro-slavery settlers, to meet them. We found them to be a company of pro-slavery men from Sugar Creek, Bull Creek, and Stanton, headed by a Capt. Arbuckle and Gen. Coffee, from near Westport. Their avowed purpose in coming was to arrest the men that killed the five men heretofore spoken of. I was immediately arrested for a wit-

ness, they said, without any remonstrance or interference on the part of my pro-slavery friends. On the contrary, they accompanied the mob and assisted to arrest every (twenty) Free State man that they could find in the neighborhood and take their arms. We were then marched about twenty miles in the heat of the day to Paola, the pro-slavery headquarters of that part of the territory, where we arrived on the evening of the 29th of May, and exposed in review, subject to the taunts and insults of two companies of 'Border Ruffians,'—one from Harrisonville and one from Westport—which were drawn up to receive us. We were then placed in the hands of Deputy United States Marshal Hayes, who placed us in a room and guarded us with four armed men day and night. It may be proper for me to state here that up to this time and for all the time while in custody not one of those arrested had warrants or writs of any kind served upon them. We found at Paola Capt. Brown and Jason, his brother, who were arrested a day or two before, near Osawatomie, and their houses burned. Capt. Brown was insane, on account of the anxiety and trouble of the past two weeks.

"On the 31st Capt. Brown was delivered into the hands of Capt. Wood, of the United States Cavalry, who pinioned his arms behind his back and tied a rope to him, one end of which was given to a soldier on horseback, and he was obliged to keep ahead of the horses, in a march of eight miles under a broiling sun. The cords which bound his arms were so tight that he will probably carry the scars to the grave.

"On the first of June eight of the remaining prisoners, Jason Brown, Wm. Partridge, Simon B. Morse, Wm. Rilboun, Pain Maness, and myself were taken to Osawatomie and put under the charge of the United States troops under the command of Capt. Wood. The rest of the prisoners were discharged, one of them losing a valuable horse, which he was riding when taken prisoner. Capt. Wood, after receiving us in his charge, tied our hands behind us with a strong cord for one day and night. He then procured chains and fastened us two and two by the chains, being locked around our ancles. Capt. Brown, Jr., by this time was a raving maniac. We passed the first night in a tent on the damp ground without any bed-clothes, and, in fact, while in charge of Capt. Wood would have had to have done so all the time had not our friends supplied us with blankets."

That letter was written by H. H. Williams, and was procured for publication in our then current History, with other matter pertaining to the outrage on Lawrence May 21, 1856.

Does Mr. Connelley see any good place for H. H. Williams to have been a messenger following in his own rear? As we said on p. 68: "There was no mes-

senger." The whole story of one, whether told by Winer, Bondi, Hinton, Sanborn, Connelley, or any one else, and of outrages by the men slaughtered, was a fabrication, devised as an apology for those horrible murders. Events transpiring after the murders, more than three months later in one case than the murders, were given as the causes for those "executions," as John Speer and his copyists put it. John Speer "trained" with the Jayhawkers, of which John Brown and Jim Lane were distinguished leaders, and he was extremely generous in employing his peculiar tactics in defending his heroes.

When Mr. Townsley's letter was published Sanborn was so distressed at the revelations he left his New England home, and journeyed all the way to Kansas to devise some way to destroy the logic of facts which converted a great moral hero into a murderer. Though the eye-witness he called for was produced, he was still a "doubting Thomas." He would not be satisfied that John Brown lied to him unless Townsley's statements were confirmed by one of the sons. He promised John Hutchings that he would call on John Brown, Jr., and get his statement, and write the result. To his credit be it said, Sanborn kept his word and wrote:

"PUT-IN-BAY, Ohio, August 29, 1882.
"JOHN HUTCHINGS, Esq.:—I have talked with the Browns about Townsley's statement. In the main it is true.
F B. SANBORN.

From that time to this, instead of denying that Brown was a *murderer*, he was inspired of God to do the killing and it became an "execution."

"Execution," in law, is "the carrying into effect a sentence or judgment of a legally constituted Court." And an "executioner" is "one who inflicts capital

punishment in pursuance of a legal warrant issuing from such Court."

John Speer *invented* the term execution for this case, because "murder" expressed the enormity of the offence. We prefer the designation of "midnight assassin," first applied May 27, 1856, by a public meeting of all parties held near Osawatomie, only a short distance from the massacres, which denounced in unmeasured terms this damnable outrage on humanity. See p 71.

We envy not the head or heart of a man, even if he aspires to the position of Chancellor in a State University, who can thus debase language to glorify a hero.*

XVI.

Conspicuous Inexactness.

REDPATH, in his "Life of Capt. John Brown," p 27, quoted a letter of Brown to Henry L. Stearns, in which he gave a biographical sketch of himself, from which we extract the following, preserving his *italics*, spelling and short & with his facts:

"I must not neglect to tell you of a *very bad & foolish* habbit to which John [Brown] was somewhat addicted. I mean *telling lies:* generally to screen himself from blame; or from punishment."

Further down the page he says, if he had been properly treated "he would not have been so often

*D. W. Wilder, in his Annals of Kansas, 2d edition, p. 213 under date of Feb. 22, '59, says:

"John Brown declares his plan for a campaign in Virginia to FRANK B. SANBORN, Gerrit Smith, and Edwin Martin, in a room in Mr. Smith's house, in Peterboro', N. Y. Mr. Sanborn thenceforth takes the lead in securing the money to enable Capt. Brown to strike the death blow to slavery on slave soil."

guilty of this fault; nor have been obliged to struggle *so long* in after life with so mean a habit."

The curious reader who has supposed John Brown was a good scholar, from reading his published letters, should turn to this one given by Redpath, commencing on p. 25, and see a probably fair specimen of his style, after the partial corrections of the printer in spelling. Redpath apologized for the "hero," in a note on p. 27, by quoting from Thoreau: "He did not go to Harvard. He was not fed on the pap there furnished. As he phrased it, 'I know no more grammar than one of your calves.'"

But it is not John Brown's literary acquirements we are dealing with. It is his character for veracity we are now considering; and we start out with his own statement, given over his own signature, to a boy, in which he admits he had "a very *bad & foolish* habbit of *telling lies*," and that he "struggled long in after life with *so mean* a habit."

We undertake to say, John Brown went on the gallows with this same "mean habbit," (preserving his spelling,) on him. As we have already shown, Brown's biographer, F. B. Sanborn, said: "That he [Brown] was actually present at the killing he always denied to me, and I shall believe him until some eye-witness proves the contrary."

Richard J. Hinton, everywhere conspicuous for his inexactness, wrote the Boston Traveler, appearing in that sheet Dec. 3, 1859:

"Capt. John Brown was not at the scene, nor a participant in the righteous act by which five ruffians were sent to their account. In closing let me say that John Brown told me he was not a participator in the Pottawatomie homicide. John Brown was incapable of uttering a falsehood."

In January of 1883, Hinton wrote the Chicago Inter-Ocean, and reiterated that statement.

J. R. Brown, a brother of Old John, wrote the Cleveland Plaindealer, November 22, 1859:

"My brother, at the time William Doyle and others were killed, was not present, did not consent to the act, nor had any knowledge of it, and was eighteen miles distant at the time of the occurrence. I have this account of this affair from my brother and his two sons; also from a sister and brother-in-law, now living in Kansas, who had personal knowledge of this transaction."

To a question by Mr. Vallandigham, soon after his arrest at Harper's Ferry, Brown said: "I killed no man (in Kansas) except in fair fight. I fought at Black Jack Point and Osawatomie, and if I killed anybody it was at one of those places."

Morrow B. Lowry, then of Erie, Pa., visited Old John in prison at Charlestown, on the eve of his execution. Replying to an allusion of Lowry's, Brown said: "I never shed the blood of a fellow man except in self defence, or in promotion of a righteous cause."

To sons, to brothers, to sister, to inquiring friends, to the Massachusetts Legislature, to everybody who approached him on the subject, save a trifling variation and equivocation to Mr. Lowry, his denial of responsibility for those murders was pointed and positive. It could not have been stronger, else all these men we have cited, and several others still at our service, among whom are his own sons, misrepresented. Either John Brown, else these friends, falsified. With that autobiography of the midnight assassin before us, and the "habbit" of his youth, and his long struggle in after life to get away from it, we do not hesitate to believe he was guilty of "conspicuous

inexactness" in his denials, with the same motive that characterized him in his earlier years, "to screen himself from blame" and from "punishment."

XVII.

A Gloomy Record.

THE ACT of beatification and canonization in the Catholic church, has some protective agencies that could be adopted in the secular world with profit when enshrining heroes. First, the Pope declares his views of the candidate, who must have been dead fifty years. Then a commission is appointed to inquire as to the candidate's merits. An ecclesiastic is appointed with the title of *advocatus diaboli*, to contend against the claims advanced, and he is expected to be most thorough in his effort to defeat the honors sought to be conferred on the dead aspirant for fame.

The facts related in this booklet, we apprehend, would defeat the beatification, and the final canonization of Old John Brown without any controversy. It may be well, however, to direct the attention of the Devil's advocate to other matters ante-dating the Old Man's intrusion into Kansas, where he went, "not to settle but because of the difficulties," as he stated.

The old man is presented to us by his eulogists as always anti-slavery. Were we to take their account of him he was one of the most prominent abolitionists of all the years; but where the evidence that this statement is truthful?

Until John Brown appeared in the "ultra abolition" convention at Syracuse, N. Y., in 1855, begging an outfit in money and arms to enable him to join his sons in Kansas, who ever heard of him, either as an

anti-slavery man, or anything else other than a failure in business?

The first we know of him he was running a small tannery in Richmond, Crawford Co., Penn'a. Whether sold out at Sheriff's sale, or otherwise, we have not information; but Morrow B. Lowry was the purchaser. When he took possession of his property he found all the hides in the tanning vats, represented to be more than a thousand dollars in value, had surreptitiously disappeared. He told the writer in January of 1860, that his principal motive in visiting John Brown, in jail at Charlestown, Va., was to learn what became of those hides. He hoped, with death staring him in the face, to get at the truth; but Brown was close-lipped to the last.

If business habits betray the character of a man it must be admitted there was something wrong in Brown's "git up." He took advantage of the bankrupt laws in 1842, and at one fell swoop wiped out his indebtedness; but he was soon in financial trouble again.

Notwithstanding his "inspired of the Lord" to murder, Sanborn seems to be occasionally truthful, whether he intends it or otherwise. He says on p. 57:

"He [Brown] would seem to have been a 'visionary man in business affairs, and of a restless, speculating disposition, not content with the plodding details of ordinary trade.' As to his wool speculation, Colonel Simon Perkins, of Akron, when questioned by me in 1878 about Brown's wool-growing and wool-dealing, replied, '*The less you say about them the better.*' . . . In the wool business at Springfield I furnished the capital; Brown managed according to his own impulses; he would not listen to anybody, but did what he took into his head. He was solicitous to go into the business of selling wool, and I allowed him to do it; but he had little judgment, always followed his own will, and lost much money.'"

In regard to the Virginia invasion, Col. Perkins

said: "I consider him and the men who helped him in that the biggest set of fools in the world." Sanborn could not have accepted that as a compliment to himself.

Brown, in a letter to his son John, Jr., of date Jan. 11, 1844, seemed very much elated at his good fortune in forming a business connection with Col. Perkins. He wrote, see p. 60, "Life and Letters of John Brown:"

"This, I think, will be considered no mean alliance for our family, and I most earnestly hope they will have wisdom given to make the most of it. It is certainly indorsing the poor bankrupt and his family, *three of whom were but recently in Akron jail, in a manner quite unexpected.*"

A letter to this writer from A. D. Swan, Esq., of Kent, O., of date Jan. 8, 1887, among other facts, gives the sequel, probably, to Perkins & Brown's wool-growing business. It is characteristic of the "hero." We quote:

"Col. Perkins and Brown owned a valuable shepherd dog in partnership, which was used in caring for the sheep. When they divided their sheep Perkins offered Brown $50.00 for the dog, but Brown thought he wanted the dog himself, though the intelligent creature preferred to stay with the Perkins family, and persisted in running there. This vexed Old Brown very much, and he threatened the dog's life, if he did not stay at home. Perkins offered $50, and finally $100 for the dog to save his life. But Brown was importunate. He was seen soon after taking long strides, gun in hand, towards Perkins' place. Soon the report of a gun and the fate of the dog was sealed.

"Had Wendell Phillips known the true character of Old John I don't think he would have placed his name above Washington's, Franklin's, and other names of renown.

"Brown lived for years in this section, and once in this place. He was always regarded as a vicious, hot-headed, self-willed person, a crazy old galoot, and his Kansas record, as that of Virginia, proved him a murderer."

N. Eggleston, Esq., writing us from Aurora, Portage county, Ohio, Dec. 10, 1883, said:

"It was the step-mother of Old John Brown he attempted to blow up, instead of mother-in-law, as I accidentally wrote in a hasty letter published in the North American Review, Brown

placed powder under an out-building which the woman was visiting, and lighted a slow match as she entered. He is sure Judge Humphrey was one of his informants of the affair. He says the statement was confirmed by Jeremiah Root, the oldest brother of the elder Mrs. Brown."

Mr. Eggleston, in his letter, says:

"John Brown was not one of the original abolitionists. He came into the support of the measure much later than is represented, and is not entitled to rank with men of prominence who devoted themselves to the cause of freedom.* I had something to do with the early debates in regard to slavery, and I knew John Brown well, but he was not known in those times as an abolitionist. I cannot say just when he became identified with them, but it was not in the beginning. It would have been a damage to the cause to have associated his name with it."

A letter dated Ingersol, Canada West, April 16, 1858, directed to his "Dear Wife and Children, Every One," takes us behind the curtain, and tells of itself, over John Brown's own signature, something of his business character. Mr. Sanborn has our thanks for publishing it p. 452 Life and Letters. The hero writes:

"Since I wrote you I have thought it possible, though not probable, that some persons might be disposed to hunt for any property I may be supposed to possess, on account of liabilities I incurred while concerned with Mr. Perkins. Such claims I ought not to pay if I had ever so much given me for my services in Kansas, as most of you well know I gave up all I had to Mr. Perkins while with him. I think if Henry and Ruth have not yet made out a deed, as we talked of, they had better not do it at present, but merely sign a receipt I now send, which can be held by Watson; and I also think that when the contract of Gerrit Smith with Franklin and Samuel Thompson is found, he had better lay it by carefully with the receipt, and that all the family had better decline saying anything about their land matters. . . It can do no harm to decline saying much about such things; you can very properly say the land belongs to the family. If a deed has been made by Henry and Ruth, it need not be recorded yet."

*In confirmation of this statement see bottom of p. 421, Sanborn's "Life and Letters," wherein it is stated:

"Brown's plan before 1851 was to occupy land at the South as a slaveholder, using trusty men as his nominal slaves, and through them indoctrinating the real slaves with the hope of freedom."

That is the kind of Abolitionist was John Brown. He would have been a Legree in the South.

This letter shows the desperate condition John Brown was in when he went to Kansas, and that "bad habbit" of concealing the truth. He had taken advantage of the bankrupt laws in 1842, and wiped out his debts. He was a bankrupt when he engaged with Perkins in the wool-growing business in 1844. He failed in that, but Perkins joined with him in another wild scheme of wool speculation; but Brown's headstrong methods made that a failure. The old man tried colonizing negroes in the Adirondacks of New York; but failed in that. Then, urged by his sons in Kansas, he came there "not to settle, but because of the difficulties," and would have ruined the Free State cause had he been allowed to follow up his murdering policy.

XVIII.

Fortune and Fame in Decay.

IT WAS but a few weeks ago we read a doleful lament that the John Brown home, in North Elba, Essex county, New York, purchased by Brown's friends, and donated to the State for a park, was in a very neglected condition; that the rude old house was fast going to decay; that, built on blocks, the foundation had rotted away, allowing the floors and part of the roof to sag, while the upturned and displaced shingle refused to turn the rain.

Money, more money, is wanted to repair the corroding waste of time; and still more will be needed to employ successors to Sanborn and Connelley to write peans in their hero's praise.

An Associated press dispatch is now, as we write, going the rounds of the papers, in words following:

"NEW YORK, Aug. 26, 1902.—In order to save the birthplace of John Brown from destruction by vandals it has been offered, rent free, to a responsible caretaker."

What a tale of departed glory!

Anarchists are they who set the laws at defiance. They have killed at will, and every one of them, even the slayers of Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley, had admirers and sympathizers. John Brown had more of them than any of the others, because the people, basing their information on his anarchistic eulogists, supposed he contributed largely towards making Kansas free. They took it for granted those men slaughtered on the Pottawatomie were as vile as they were represented, and deserved killing; whereas their crimes consisted in the fact that two of them were pro-slavery, and the other three, as we have already stated, favored the exclusion of the colored man, bond or free, from the State, "an offence," said Brown, "greater than being a slaveholder."

Even the anarchists hung in Chicago for throwing bombs, killing and wounding policemen, had their indorsers. We find on p. 121, Vol. 2, of our Old John Brown Scrap Book, an Associate Press dispatch in words following:

"TOLEDO, O., Nov. 7, 1887.—The Lake Shore passenger train which passed through Toledo to-night west bound, had on board eight baskets of grapes, each holding ten pounds. They were billed to August Spies, Michael Schwab, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden, A. R. Parsons, George Engel, Adolph Fischer and Louis Lingg, 'In care of the Sheriff of Cook county, at Chicago.' Each basket bore the following inscription: 'Anti-monopolist and opponent of slavery in every form. From the vineyard of John Brown, Jr., Put-in-Bay Island, Lake Erie, Ohio.'"

Why not sympathise with anarchists? Brown's whole family were of that breed, and are everywhere idolized by those assassins and disturbers of public tranquility. Is it worse to kill a President, because

he is not liked, than to go into a neighborhood at midnight and butcher its male population? Life is as dear to the peasant as to the prince; to the humble mechanic who toils in his workshop, or the laborer who tills the soil, as to a President superintending the affairs of a great nation; while the family thus bereaved of its head and support, is rendered many times more wretched.

People from the Orient visiting the slaughter-houses of Chicago during the Columbian Exposition, were justly horrified on account of the butchery of the dumb animals in those shambles. What would they have said had they known of this butchery on the Pottawatomie, and that the assassin was glorified on account of it by Christians, and that many Christian clergymen were in the habit of mentioning John Brown as a model for young men to imitate? And still more, what would they have said had they been told of the blasphemous claim that the leader was "inspired of God?"

XIX.

They Knew John Brown.

SAMUEL N. WOOD was one of the first pioneers to Kansas from the free North. He came from the State of Ohio, was of Quaker parentage, and a Free Soiler in politics. He selected a claim a few miles out from where Lawrence was afterwards located, and was one of the most active and trusted of the Free State settlers. In the first number, 3d page, of the Herald of Freedom, printed September 20, 1854, on our steam-power press, before taking it down to ship to Kansas, will be found a long letter

from Mr. Wood's pen, which we clipped from the National Era, a Free Soil organ then published at Washington. The letter had a very extensive reading in the North, and aided largely in making its readers conscious of the great value of Kansas as an agricultural region.

S. N. Wood attended all our Free State Conventions, serving on important Committees, frequently their chairman, and was everywhere trusted. He was indicted by the pro-slavery Grand Jury, with Gov. Robinson, Gov. Reeder, G. W. Brown, G. W. Deitzler, Judge Smith with others, for high treason, but, fortunately was not arrested, for he went East on a lecturing tour.

S. N. Wood opposed the policy of thievery and blood, inaugurated by Old John Brown, and afterwards adopted by Jim Lane. He cordially supported the Voting Policy which finally made Kansas free. He was Colonel of the 8th Regiment K. M.; served several terms in the State Legislature; was associated for a time with another in the publication of the Kansas Tribune, and, subsequently, was the publisher of other Republican papers.

The writer first met Col. Wood at Kansas City, Mo., in the forepart of November, 1854, when on his way to the territory. Wood had come down from Lawrence to Westport, to get the mail; there being at that time no postroute or postoffice in Kansas, unless at the military posts. His face was covered with dried blood, and one eye was badly swollen. He had encountered a Border Ruffian while getting his mail, and the marks of impact were prominent. Wood's offence: he was from that Yankee town, Lawrence, hence a "G—— d—— Abolitionist," and the penalty. We always suspicioned the Colonel's Quaker notions

of non-resistance took their departure with that brutal blow, for from that time forward he seemed to possess good fighting qualities.

In 1884 Colonel Wood, responding to an inquirer, gave his opinion of Old John Brown. His letter was published in one of the Lawrence papers, most of which is copied, as follows:

"I now give it as my deliberate judgment that John Brown never did any good in Kansas, that we would have been better off if he had never come to the State. His object was war, not peace. It was his constant aim to produce a collision between the Free State men and the Government, which would have wiped us out in Kansas as effectually as he and his little band were wiped out in Virginia. The truth is, Brown never had the confidence of the Free State men of Kansas, and no sensible man dared follow his lead. . . .

"By this wanton massacre on the Pottawatomie the Free State men of Kansas suffered terribly.

"There cannot be any question to a man who knew Brown as well as I did that he was crazy, or, rather, had that religious delusion that he was another Gideon, or rather a chosen instrument in the hands of God to accomplish a great work. 'He died as the fool dieth,' and for one I was willing to let his 'soul go marching on.' But to have him thrust down this generation as ever being any benefit to Kansas is an insult to the men who made Kansas free. Yours truly, S. N. WOOD."

This letter expressed the views of nearly all the early pioneer settlers, those who located with their families in the territory in advance of the "heroes," they whose friends insist were the "saviors of Kansas."

We take great pleasure in also quoting a letter from SAMUEL C. SMITH, Esq., who came to Kansas in the fall of 1854, and was identified with its material interests until after our admission into the Union a Free State. He was known as a radical; was Secretary of the Topeka Constitutional Convention; served in various public capacities, and was a man everywhere re-

spected and trusted. He wrote, under date of April 18, 1880, while our Reminiscences of Old John Brown were running through the Kansas press:

"I believe Kansas was saved to freedom through the influence of those who so conducted themselves within it as to merit the approval and support of the friends of freedom throughout the North. . . . It seems to me that all the Free State party could do, in the early struggle, from 1854 to 1857, was, if possible, to 'hold the fort,' and wait for the triumph of the Republican party to secure their own complete victory. This in fact was what they did do.

"Brown, Lane, and Montgomery would have plunged us into all sorts of excesses, put our friends in the East on the defensive, rallied the Democratic party under the banner of the 'Constitution and the Union,' as against civil war and incendiary abolitionists, and Kansas would have been lost by the folly and insanity of its leaders in doing those acts which the sentiment of the North could in no wise sustain."

Learning that Mr. Smith had just returned to Kansas from the State of Maine, where he has been sojourning for the last few years, we asked his present opinion of the Pottawatomie massacre. He wrote mildly, but firmly, in response, as follows:

"LAWRENCE, Kansas, Oct. 22, 1902:

"Dr. G. W. BROWN—MY DEAR SIR:—I was in Leavenworth when the report came of the murders of the pro-slavery men on the Pottawatomie, by the Free State men. Phillips, in his 'Conquest,' speaks of the effect of the news on both parties, and he was then present in that city. Gov. Robinson was there held as a prisoner and in his 'Conflict' has related the peril to which he was then subjected. My own recollection, and the published records of that time, confirm the statements made by Phillips and Robinson as to the evil effect of that report on the Free State cause and on Free State men along the Border. Phillips says the news as published seemed designed to inflame the pro-slavery men. That it did so, the records of every border county and every road leading into the territory give testimony.

"For myself, I did not then believe, and could not believe, that John Brown or any other Free State man could do such a deed as was described. I believed him devout, stern and courageous—

one of Cromwell's men enlisted in Freedom's cause. I did not then write anything about it, for I could not understand it. I wish he had never put on our cause such a burden of crime and on his character so cruel a stain. Very Truly Yours,

"S. C. SMITH."

As we write a letter has come to hand from E. W. ROBINSON, Esq., of Paola, Kansas. He asked for a copy of our Old John Brown, published in 1880, for their Public Library. He says his own copy has done large service, and is nearly worn out from much reading. The copies of that eye-opener are nearly as scarce as hen's teeth, yet we take pleasure in complying with his request; for we spent four years of our Kansas life in that beautiful city, only a few miles distant from the scene of John Brown's slaughter. Mr. Robinson, a very earnest Republican, wrote, and we believe published, a History of Miami county, formerly Lykins, of which Paola is the county seat. He gave an account of that slaughter, and had the bravery at that early day to designate it as "murder." He wrote:

"PAOLA, Kan., Sept. 14, 1902.

"MY OLD FRIEND:—Public opinion is undergoing a marked change in regard to the real character of Old John Brown, and such writings as yours will hereafter be sought and eagerly read. You remember the account of Capt. Brown and the Osawatomie people relative to the fight when Gen. Reid, with his Missourians, raided that town? The fact is, Old John Brown, as commander of the Free State forces, made no stand, but scattered and fired back as they ran. No Missourians were killed, and but three were wounded; one in the jaw, one in the wrist, and one in the shoulder. How do I know? In 1887, having already got statements from many on the Free State side, I spent three weeks doing nothing else but looking up this matter.

"Nearly all the pro-slavery forces were from Jackson and Clay counties, Mo. I found between twenty and thirty men who were in the raid. I took their names and statements. Afterwards, through the influence of Col. Case, of Kansas City, I had an interview with Gen. Reid, who gave me the history of his trip, with

all the incidents he could remember from the time of leaviug Missouri until his return. They all agrced there was nothing which approached a battle, and but three persons were wounded.

"At the dedication of the John Brown Monument, Dr. Updegraff, in his speech, put the number of Missourians killed at from 30 to 50, and the wounded from 75 to 100. Others, however, have been a little more moderate in their claims. The facts are as I state them.

"I agree with you as to Old John's true character.

"Yours Truly, E. W. ROBINSON."

In a letter of Sept. 24, 1902, Mr. Robinson, in consenting to the publication of the above extract from his former letter, wrote at length, with many additional facts showing the falsity of the claim that there was a battle, or even a skirmish fought at Osawatomie, unless fugitives fleeing to the brush; and firing in their retreat can be dignified with the title of "skirmishers." Thus the glory heaped upon John Brown for successfully fighting and defeating Gen. Reid and his 400 from Missouri, entitling him to be designated as "Osawatomie Brown," a name originally, and justly applied to ORVILLE C. BROWN, who was the projector of that town, thus vanishes into thin air. Is that the way great heroes are made? If so, Heaven save us from their multiplication.

Capt. J. M. ANTHONY, a brother of Col. D. R. ANTHONY, of Leavenworth, and of the well-known SUSAN B. ANTHONY, in the course of a long letter published in the Leavenworth Times, of Jan. 10, 1884, told rather a damaging story on the "hero of Osawatomie." He wrote of what he knew, and no one will discredit his integrity. After telling of the Missouri raid under Gen· Reid, and of ALL THE FREE STATE men under command of Captains Updegraff, Brown and Cline retiring to the timber—the "brush" says Brown in his report to his family,—from whence a few shots

were fired, then: When pressed by the enemy there was no orderly retreat, but a general "skedaddle" was made for the brush, every man for himself, John Brown disappearing with the rest. After caring for Dr. Updegraff, who was wounded, and coming out of the timber, finding the enemy gone, Capt. Anthony tells the residue in his own words:

"I went back to the Crane House, and began to think about getting something to eat, as we had gone out without breakfast, and had had nothing to eat all day. I went down to the barnyard to milk the cow, and while doing that saw John Brown advancing up the ravine. When he got to within about twenty feet of me, or just across the fence, he stopped and said 'Hello, is that you?' I replied that it was undoubtedly, and we talked for several minutes, he asking all about the result of the day's engagement. He seemed to be entirely ignorant of the facts, and like Dr. Updegraff, and indeed everybody else, thought the whole community had been killed."

The story of a *spent* bullet striking Brown, doing no injury save a slight bruise, gives an idea of his distance from danger, though, according to his own account of the affair to his family, p. 317, "Life and Letters:"

"The men [Brown's] not more than thirty in all, were directed to scatter and secrete themselves as well as they could, and await the approach of the enemy. All left but six or seven. The loss of the enemy was some 31 or 32 killed, and from 40 to 50 wounded."

In another letter from the Captain to his family, dated Lawrence, Sept. 7, "Life and Letters," p. 319, he repeats this story; and this the authority for the terrible falsification, which made Brown a great hero at Osawatomie.

This invasion of Kansas from Missouri, August 30, 1856, like that of June preceding, and like the "Battle of Black Jack," all such wonderful affairs when told by the John Brown eulogists, were attempts to arrest

the midnight assassins for their Pottawatomie murders, and from which it is probable Kansas would have been exempt but for them. With these facts in mind, then how much did the freedom of Kansas "hinge" on those events?

XX.

Private Tribunals of Justice Not Defensible.

THE PLAN of John Brown in setting up his own private judgment for the redress of public grievances, making him in fact a self-constituted tribunal of justice, serving at the same time as advocate, prosecutor, witness, jury and executioner, has never been recognized as good policy, save among law-breakers. It would soon depopulate a State, for every other man has as good a right to engage in the killing business as had the midnight assassin.

What home is secure, and what life is safe where such an order of things prevail? Between 1770 and 1800, a period of thirty years, 7,000 murders were perpetrated in Corsica by Vendetta. The practice of private vengeance, and holding the next of kin responsible for wrongs, real or imagined, prevails in Sicily, Sardinia and Calabria. The wreckage of homes and life in all countries where private assassins bear rule is truly frightful.

A person lies down at night with his family around him, to rest from the weariness of the day. Midnight comes. A banditti forcibly intrudes upon the home. They break down doors, enter, and take the head—the bread-winner—out into the cold and the darkness, and cut him to pieces with noiseless broadswords, choosing this method of destruction to the revolver,

for the latter might disturb a neighbor who is also marked for destruction.

The writer spent eleven years on the Kansas border, and bent all the energies of his nature, aided by the press, to prevent the extension of slavery over that territory. And when established by forms of law, acquired by forcible usurpation of the elective franchise by invaders from Missouri, he then labored to defeat and overthrow the acts of that usurped Legislature. He saw the invasion of the territory by the myrmidons of the slave power, and stood many a night on guard, gun in hand, to protect the people and their homes against the insidious acts of our enemies. He was well acquainted with all the circumstances attending the foul murder of Dow, of Barber, of R. P. Brown, of Wm. Phillips, of Hoyt, of Copps, and of others. He saw from his prairie prison the smoke rising from the burning homes of Samuel Walker, Judge Wakefield, Erastus Heath, and many other Free State settlers, fired by the tools of the slave power. He had full knowledge of the awful massacre on the Marias des Cygnes, one of the victims being an old Pennsylvania friend; as also of the horrible slaughter of 180 citizens at Lawrence, some of whom were his own kin, and a majority personal friends. He saw hundreds of homes and business houses and a flourishing city in ashes, and sustained a personal loss of many thousands of dollars in the destruction of property by the hands of brutal savages. Besides this he suffered four months' inprisonment at their hands; yet he has no recollection, in a single case, of a home being invaded at night by them, or the occupants being taken out in the darkness, and murdered in cold blood. This acme of vengeance devolved on Old John Brown, and his associate assassins.

The tree falls and kills a person reclining at its base, or a bolt of lightning descends from the clouds and paralyzes his heart; a cyclone sweeps over a country leaving ruin and desolation in its path. Any of the forces of Nature destroying life, and we say: "It was an act of God;" but it remained for the Concord philosopher, one Frank B. Sanborn, who, it seems, aided Old John Brown in diverting moneys and munitions of war, raised for the relief and defense of suffering and "bleeding Kansas," for use in a personal war on Virginia, to discover that midnight assassination was an act of God specially inspired by Him to make a territory free.

A distinguished politician was reported to have visited an insane asylum during his perigrinations "up and down to and fro in the earth." One of the inmates, noted for his wise sayings, to whom the visitor was introduced as a new patient mentally unbalanced, looked over the new comer from head to heels, then sagely remarked: "Why, gentlemen, this man is not insane! He is a d——d fool; that is what ails *him*." We would love to hear this fellow's opinion of F. B. Sanborn.

XXI.

War on the South-East Border.

ALL KNOW who know anything about the history of Kansas, that when the territorial government passed into Free State hands, the bogus statutes were repealed, and the Lecompton Constitution, regardless of its fate in Congress, was powerless for harm, the offices under it being wholly in Free State hands, and even the leaders of the pro-slavery party in the interest of peace were protesting

against further agitation, conceding "the slavery question was settled against the South by immigration," see Wilder's Annals, under the head of Jan. 7, 1858; yet John Brown, fearful that his drill master Forbes, who opposed a treasonable invasion of Virginia, would expose him at Washington, made a dash for Kansas, and commenced a war upon Missouri. His movement was not in the interest of the freedom of Kansas, for that was secure, but to carry out his original plan of inciting a war against the South, which he hoped would end in a Northern Rebellion.

"The plan of a servile negro insurrection on the border of Missouri, was told us by John Brown, Jr., while a prisoner near Lecompton, in the summer of 1856; that it was designed to be participated in by Free State men, and extend until the whole Union should become involved, and a dissolution follow, while American slavery was to be wiped out in blood. When so informed we determined Kansas should not be involved, and made the battle ground, and resolved to stem the tide, whatever the cost to ourself personally. When the Herald of Freedom was revived in November of that year, we showed what our position would be in a contest of that character.

"The whole controversy on our south-eastern border, during the summer of 1858, was in furtherance of this announced purpose of warring on Missouri, running off her slaves, stealing horses, etc. The evidence is positive that Capt. Brown came from the East in the early summer of that year, indorsed by prominent Northern disunionists, to head such a revolutionary movement. He left the territory, at the urgent request of Gov. Robinson, and other prominent Free State men, who assured him he was damaging the cause of free Kansas by his war policy."

Such, substantially, were our words published in the Herald of Freedom in 1859, words we would repeat to-day, did the same condition of facts exist.

Even Col. James Montgomery, who heartily cooperated with Brown for a time, when he learned of Brown's purpose to make raids into Missouri, on stealing expeditions, then retreat into Kansas, dispose of

his plunder, and renew his attack, thereby keeping up a perpetual feud between the people of the two localities, honest men on each side of the line suffering in person and property in consequence, withdrew his support and confidence in John Brown.

Not a blow struck in all the summer and autumn of 1858, which kept the counties of Lykins, Linn and Bourbon in a constant turmoil, aided free Kansas in the least, but it led to the organization of the "Bushwhackers" in Missouri, culminating in numerous crimes, climaxed by the burning of Lawrence, and the slaughter of near 200 of its best population a few years later.

Brown himself did not claim he came to Kansas in 1858 to aid in making it free, and it would have been wholly false had he done so; for, as before stated, the Free State party had complete control in every county. The public offices were in their hands. They had command of the law-making and executing power throughout the territory; had repealed the bogus statutes and enacted laws of their own which met the approbation of the entire population. Save local difficulties growing out of conflicting land claims and some old scores occasioned by past political differences, all was peace, when John Brown, *to divert attention from his contemplated Virginia raid*, came among us again and renewed the border troubles.

For months civil war was rife. At last all parties met and agreed to frown upon the agitators. Jas. Montgomery was faithful to his pledges; but John Brown was still ambitious to "draw a little blood." This was done in one of his forays, when Crew was killed, and his slaves, horses and stock were run off, the family were impoverished, and the fourteen negroes were transported to the inhospitable climate of Canada, to

struggle with cold and poverty, but slight gainers by their changed condition.

We find in our Old John Brown Scrap Book, Vol. 1, pp. 54 to 58, a long letter from Col. C. H. RAY, dated Mantua, Ohio, Feb. 7, 1883, which is specially interesting in connection with John Brown in South-Eastern Kansas. It was addressed and published in the National Tribune, Feb. 7, '83. Col Ray removed from Portage county, Ohio, to a point about ten miles north of Fort Scott, Kan., where he located a town, which he named Lebanon. He put up a steam saw mill, and set out to build a quiet home. It seems he kept a daily diary of events, and was a very earnest Free State man, of the Western Reserve stripe. He quotes from his diary as follows:

"Dec. 20, 1858.—Last night John Brown went over into Missouri, near the line, on the Osage, and kidnapped six slaves, and is now running them North by the "underground railroad." A large party of Missourians are in hot pursuit, while a great many are gathering just over the line and near Barnesville, with loud threats that if the slaves are not returned they will burn every Free State man's house on the Osage. Great excitement among the settlers. Some are fleeing North, while others are coming into Lebanon."

Then Col. Ray goes on to relate:

"Something had to be done, and that quickly. Couriers were sent out in all directions to call the Osage rifle company together. Messengers were sent down the river to Barnesville, to watch the enemy, while others went North to the Pottawatomie to intercept John Brown and ask him to return and fight his own battles."

Then the Colonel enters into details of preparing for war; but we shall not follow him further. John Brown had raised hell, and was fleeing with his glory and associates, while the wretched inhabitants were doing the best they could to allay the excitement, and stay the hand of violence he had incited, to new fields of strife and murder.

It was the writer's frequent pleasure, all unknown to the populace, to aid the flying bondsman in his northern flight, both in Pennsylvania and in Kansas; yet never by word or act did he hazard the life of a slave by advising him to leave his master. But he bent all his energies and resources to aid in crushing an institution which he believed a curse to both master and slave, and no one rejoiced more that he when the end came through the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, which made all free.

XXII.

Begging Money Under False Pretenses.

WHAT OTHER man than John Brown could go on for years begging money, ostensibly to aid the cause of freedom in Kansas, then spend that money in running over the country, transporting young men to Canada, paying their expenses out of the falsely accumulated treasure, and organizing a provisional government for the United States, getting himself elected Commander-in-Chief by his hirelings; buying munitions of war, and transporting them, with arms sent to Kansas to protect the people from ruffian violence, to Virginia, and there engaging in treason and the murder of a peaceful people engaged in the honest duties of life?

On p. 379 "Life and Letters" we find two of Brown's appeals for money. In one he says:

"I am trying to raise from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars in the Free States to enable me to continue my efforts in the cause of freedom. . . . I think the little beggar children in the streets are sufficiently interested to warrant their contributing."

All over the country money was thus raised, and the donors were kept ignorant of the uses to which it was to be appropriated, supposing it was to be used to aid in making Kansas free. We have no means of knowing the extent of moneys thus given by the benevolent and diverted to other uses, for the old man never made a report of receipts or expenditures. He was supposed to be a person of integrity until he and his war policy were crushed, then sympathy for the cause, and ignorant of his real character, his lack of sterling honor was forgotten.

Mr. Sanborn conveys the idea that the philanthropist, GERRIT SMITH, gave his wealth to aid in plundering Virginia; but there is no evidence to that effect so far as we know. Certain it is, Smith's mind was mentally wrecked when he learned of the fraudulent use made of his generous contributions for free Kansas. Amos A. Lawrence, too, when he learned how he had been deceived, denounced Brown, as did Hon. Eli Thayer, Gov. Robinson, and many others of his indorsers. But G. W. Brown was made the special target of abuse by these cormorants feasting on character, because he chanced to have information of John Brown's criminal conduct in advance of others. In courts of law obtaining money under false pretenses is made a felony, and is punishable for a term of years in the penitentiary; but we suppose Sanborn could find, if he would set out, evidence that this "midnight assassin" was inspired of God to deceive in money-getting; for such an offence is trivial in contrast with his taking human life, in which act he obeyed the divine will, if Sanborn can be trusted.

XXIII.

Incompatible Characteristics.

IT IS an anomaly in the history of the world to make a hero and a philanthropist out of a criminal whose atrocious barbarities were so blood-curdling sensitive natures shrink from reading an account of them; but this was done to glorify one who almost alone attempted to revolutionize the country by acts of violence, substituting his private will as superior to that of more than thirty millions of people, as expressed in constitutional and statute law; also embodied in common law, the wisdom of the ages. It is an attempt to build character on midnight assassination.

Still more: What other reputation than that of Old John Brown has been built on falsehood, and calumniating those who told the truth in regard to his doings, and exposed his wickedness? To make his name glorious it has been necessary to blacken the character of nearly every one who took his life in his hand, and went to Kansas, bordered as it was in 1854 by the demons of the slave power, a year in advance of Brown, and risked fortune and fame to lay the foundations of a free State?

Gov. CHARLES ROBINSON, misled by the denials of John Brown, and the false character given by his indorsers to the victims of the assassin's anger, though honored and exalted to the highest places of public trust by those who knew of his patriotism, and his great moral, social and intellectual worth, yet, when he learned the true character of this fictitious hero, and repudiated him and his sanguinary acts, he was made the target for malicious and bitter invective by the pens of Hinton, Sanborn and Connelley.

And Hon. ELI THAYER, who labored so hard and sacrificed so much to turn the tide of free emigration towards Kansas, is besmirched by these guardians of a tarnished reputation, whose exemplar was justly condemned and hung for murder and treason, punishments well deserved several years before he met his doom.

Again: G. W. BROWN, who sacrificed a large, well-established and prosperous publishing and book business in Pennsylvania; took out to Kansas with him the largest party in one body that settled in the territory, persons collected by his own unaided and individual efforts; erected the first FRAME building on the town site of Lawrence; printed and published the first free State newspaper there; took the first two steam-power printing presses to Kansas; established the first Book Bindery and Blank Book manufactory; projected, located and gave name to one of its most prosperous towns—EMPORIA; against whom not one word of slander was ever whispered until he voiced the VOTING POLICY, to rescue the territory from the curse of slavery, and yet he has been maligned and libeled in the interest of John Brown and his Murdering Policy, as has no one else. For *proving* John Brown a midnight assassin he was charged with lying, of which these caluminators of real worth were alone guilty. We venture in the APPENDIX to this booklet to publish one of those falsehoods and a reply thereto with facts. These lies were repeated with a multitude of other falsehoods, not only in the text, but in numerous notes to "John Brown," ostensibly written by Wm. E. Connelley, a new and later edition of fiction writers, of which Richard J. Hinton was a type.*

*One of these terrible *offenses*, perhaps we should write CRIMES, of which this G. W. Brown was guilty, quoted by Sanborn in his

This quotation from Holmes, in the note, is followed by another which Connelley quotes from John Brown himself, who, before cited, it seems, wrote:

"I believe all honest, sensible Free State men in Kansas consider George Washington Brown's Herald of Freedom one of the most mischievous, traitorous publications in the whole country."

Why? Because G. W. Brown opposed the murdering and thieving policy of making Kansas free, and favored getting possession of the territorial government wrested from us by fraud, by using the quiet and peaceful ballot. That policy did not contemplate plunging the whole nation in a sea of blood, by the North engaging in a fratricidal war against the South, hence his paper was a "mischievous and traitorous publication."

On the same page of the long note by Connelley, the reader is told that G. W. Brown, "To get notoriety and high company with the state prisoners, submitted to arrest by a negro slave."

The writer forgot to tell that story was a pro-slavery lie; and that this G. W. Brown was the very first of the treason prisoners taken to Lecompton, where the others soon joined him. Were it not they who were seeking good company?

Some other equally truthful writer, quoted by Connelley, says: "G. W. Brown, terrified for his life, became a traitor bought by Administration gold, he continues one."

"Life and Letters of John Brown," p. 395, and cited with great satisfaction by Wm. E. Connelley, in his "John Brown," p. 243, is told of in a letter from one James H. Holmes, a notorious Jayhawker (sometimes written *horse thief*,) in a letter to John Brown, in 1857. He says:

"Gov. Walker comes to town frequently, and stops at the Herald of Freedom office, in secret conclave with G. W. Brown. When you come here if you should you can judge for yourself."

There was one charge against this G. W. Brown, by a Sumner paper, which Connelley, or his assistant, Hinton, in compiling lies, shamefully overlooked, for which we can hardly forgive him. That paper said, in substance:

"This G. W. Brown who is advocating the Voting Policy, and supporting Gov. Walker who promises the Free State party a fair election and honest count, is notoriously intemperate and can be found any day in the gutter wallowing in his filth."

To satisfy Mr. Connelley that this statement was true, *like the rest*, we take pleasure in telling him that G. W. Brown, at the age of eight years, at his mother's knee, signed a family temperance pledge, and to this date, now just entered his 83d year, the spirit of that pledge has never been broken.

WM. SMITH, Esq., Attorney-at-Law, Janesville, Wis., having read a copy of our late "Reminiscences of Gov. Robert J. Walker, with the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas from Slavery," ordered a copy sent his friend, GEO. R. PECK, Esq., Attorney for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, at Chicago, and received in reply the following, which he kindly mailed to the writer:

"OFFICE GEN. COUNSEL, C. M. & ST. PAUL RAILWAY CO.,
"CHICAGO, Aug. 15, 1902.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I am greatly obliged to you for ordering me a copy of Dr. BROWN'S book on Gov. Walker. Glancing over its pages this morning I notice many familiar names. Dr. Brown was a distinguished figure in the early days in Kansas, and did magnificent service to the Free State cause. The Border Ruffians mobbed and imprisoned him, and destroyed his printing office every little while, when they had no other mischief in hand. I have several friends in Kansas, who were compositors on the Herald of Freedom, and from them I have heard many interesting stories of those troublous times. EX. GOV. ROBINSON was, for many years, a warm friend of mine, and was a man of great ability, and highly respected by all. Thanking you again, believe me, as always, Sincerely Yours, GEO. R. PECK.

Hundreds of letters from all parts of the country

during the last few months, all breathing the same kindly spirit, while many readers of Sanborn, Connelley and Hinton have written:

"They and the publishers of those old-time libels, only injure themselves by their malicious assaults. While the Herald of Freedom remains on file in the rooms of the Historical Society, at Topeka, all can see that it was faithful to the cause that planted it in Kansas."

But let these traducers of real merit, of the Hinton & Company stripe, continue their malicious assaults, and rear their granite shafts mountain high, if they will, covered all over with lying inscriptions to the glory of their vile heroes; let them thrust their statues into every conceivable place, and, if possible, emblazon their names in letters of burnished gold along the sky. The greater their elevation the more crushing their fall; for Eternal Justice has so ordered that though ages pass, yet the TRUTH shall finally prevail, and the heroes whose fame rested on *falsehood*, like the decaying rock, shall crumble and fall, and the waters of oblivion shall roll over and engulf them forever.

XXIV.

Score One for Truth.

"THE ACTIVE hostility of Robinson and G. W. Brown to John Brown began in 1858."

The above is a note on page 417 of Sanborn's "Life and Letters of John Brown." We thank the author for making record of that fact, and compliment him for his truthfulness in that regard.

Both Gov. Robinson and the writer were prisoners, under pro-slavery authority, when the murders on the Pottawatomie were perpetrated, and they remained such during all that summer and into the autumn of

1856, when John Brown was operating with his guerillas, stealing, plundering and murdering pro-slavery settlers and travelers. We were not in a good condition to be well posted in transpiring events, being in the custody of United States troops, and most of our information reached us through our guard, or from the officers when visiting their quarters.

John Brown, his sons, their families and belongings set out for the East some five days after our discharge from imprisonment.

The Herald of Freedom, destroyed by Border Ruffians three days before the massacre on the Pottawatomie, was not revived until the 1st of November, a month and a half after these disturbing elements had set out on their overland trip north, through Iowa East, hence there was no occasion to tell of Brown's misdoings, besides, as the Border Ruffians held the whole Free State party responsible for his acts, silence at the time was golden, but it ceased to be such when, on that account, Brown's friends credited everything done for the freedom of Kansas hinged on the brutal murders on the Pottawatomie.

In 1857 Brown was collecting money and military armament at Tabor, Iowa, with headquarters there, and was plotting with Jim Lane to precipitate themselves on the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, murder each member, and "wipe out" the officers of the territorial government, if they interfered in the matter. For a very good account of this plotting and management, the reader will consult Sanborn's "Life and Letters," where he will read of Lane's artful efforts to get the arms in Brown's keeping at Tabor into the territory, in time to crush the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, and of Brown's determination that he would not move without money. The reader

should also consult Chap. XVI of the writer's Reminiscences of Gov. Walker in this connection, so as to be posted on the points made in those letters.

When John Brown returned to Kansas, in the early summer of 1858, and commenced his agitation in South-Eastern Kansas, and had the whole region in an uproar, and Missourians were pouring over into those counties, retaliating on Free State settlers for Brown's outrages, everything imperiled by his action; then Gov. Robinson and G. W. Brown, with every other honest and conscientious settler, opposed to Jayhawking, otherwise stealing from our opponents, antagonized him, and openly, and they incurred the displeasure of Brown and every Free State thief in the territory.

These Jayhawkers were mostly enlisted from those who were transported overland through Iowa and Nebraska into Kansas, in the summer and autumn of 1856. They very generally indorsed John Brown and Jim Lane as their leaders, and made heroes of them when dead, one dying on the gallows, and the other by his own hand. These men had no means of support. Like John Brown, with weapons in their hands, they came to Kansas to fight. They had nothing to lose, but everything to gain by their predatory habits, and they worked their new profession for all it was worth.

As Gov. Robinson was in a responsible position, the acknowledged head of the Free State settlers, and G. W. Brown, with his Herald of Freedom, was doing all in his power to restore order, these persons came in for their full share of malicious abuse.

But we were not the only ones who condemned John Brown's actions. The Free State people of South-Eastern Kansas, who he embroiled in trouble,

denounced him, as did, latterly, his whilom friend Col. Montgomery, as before stated.

On page 487 of "Life and Letters of John Brown," we find this statement, which all will admit, has a bad look for the basely *gilded* hero, who so long made his headquarters in Iowa, drilling and preparing for war. We quote:

"At Tabor Brown had formerly been received with great hospitality and treated in the friendliest manner; but the very people who had formerly contributed to his wants so liberally now felt called upon to assemble and resolve that Brown's conduct in crossing into a slave State and forcing negroes away was inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible and Christianity. . . Though good Republican voters they were alarmed and declared such fugitives contraband."

This action of the citizens of Tabor occurred on Feb. 7, 1859, and was formulated in words following:

"*Resolved*, That while we sympathize with the oppressed, and will do all we conscientiously can to help them in their efforts for freedom, nevertheless, *we have no sympathy* with those who go to slave States to entice away slaves and take property or life when necessary to attain that end."

John Brown was present at this meeting of citizens, addressed by a strong anti-slavery man; but as the tide had set against the fictitious hero, he arose and left his former indorsers in silence. So says Sanborn in his "Life and Letters," p. 488.

Sanborn gives on p. 490 a quotation from a letter by Gov. Robinson, published in the Topeka Commonwealth, to the same point in regard to Brown's forays into Missouri. The Governor says:

"Brown and his heroes went over the line into Missouri, killed an old and peaceful citizen and robbed him of all the personal effects he could drive or carry away. Such proceedings caused the Free State men to organize and drive him from the territory. He went to Harper's Ferry where he displayed his wonderful generalship in virtually committing suicide."

Col. O. E. Learnard, publisher of the Lawrence Journal, who came to Lawrence in 1856, and presided over the Convention at Osawatomie in 1859, that organized the Republican party of Kansas, in an article in a Kansas magazine, "The Agora," in 1892, wrote:

"Concerning the character and services of John Brown it is probable the views expressed by Governor Robinson reflect the settled sentiment, for the most part at least, of those personally familiar with the facts. John Brown—Pottawatomie Brown as General Butler has it, and not Osawatomie Brown as the Atchison Globe has it—never was in any proper sense a resident of Kansas. His immediate family was never here, and he never evinced any purpose of bringing them here. Previous to his coming to Kansas he had established his home among the Adirondack hills in New York, having utterly failed in every business undertaking of his life, a misanthrope—broken in fortune and involved in litigation in half a dozen States. While here he never co-operated with the best elements of the Free State party, and was never trusted by them. The one black spot in the Free State annals of Kansas is the work of his hands."

A letter addressed to the writer, of date Chelsea, Mass., Dec. 1, 1883, from Rev. EPHRAIM NUTE, who located in Lawrence early in the spring of 1855, and was closely identified with the Free State movement until the admission of Kansas into the Union, will be read with interest. He says:

"The horrors that followed the sacking of Lawrence in May of 1856, are sickening to contemplate. But the truth should be told, and the sooner the better. Old John Brown was drunk with rage when we were outraged, crushed and threatened with further violence; but what a barbarous method he employed in retaliation. Yes, he was a murderer, a horrible midnight assassin. He struck as a *maniac*, driven mad by the acts of the pro-slavery ruffians. I can understand how he did it, and yet I am amazed and horrified to think of it. The condemnation of his murderous doings will grow deeper and stronger with each successive generation."

Instead of malignant and malicious libels, to defame and belittle the real heroes in the Kansas strife,

they who really rescued the territory from slavery, we commend to the consideration of Frank B. Sanborn, Wm. E. Connelley, and their associate traducers, the following:

"There is no better test of purity and goodness than reluctance to think evil of another, with absolute incapacity to believe evil reports of good men, except on the most positive evidence. Alas, that this lovely charity is so aare! Every man who peddles libels thereby advertises his own unworthiness."

XXV.

Gov. Robinson Misrepresented.

"CHARLES ROBINSON was the Free State Governor of Kansas at the time these men were killed by John Brown on the Pottawatomie. Having the interests of the Free State men of Kansas in his charge, and it being his business to know the conditions everywhere prevailing, he bestowed upon John Brown the highest praise and most flattering panegyrics.—Connelley's "John Brown," p. 226.

A person familiar with the pioneer history of Kansas, if a "weeping philosopher," will find cause for an abundance of tears when reading the above quotation from the Kansas historian. Connelley should have waited until the last actor in the Kansas drama was dead, if he expected his statements to pass unchallenged.

1st. While it is true Charles Robinson was elected Governor under the Topeka Constitution, yet that instrument, and the officers under it were waiting in abeyance the action of Congress, and had no legal authority whatever until indorsed by that body. As Congress never gave that Constitution any vitalizing force, Gov. Robinson had no more ability to restrain or punish crime under it than the humblest citizen.

2d. Gov. Robinson was arrested by a Missouri mob

at Lexington, May 10th, 1856, while on his way as messenger of the Congressional Investigating Committee, bearing the testimony, so far taken, to Washington. He was not at liberty again until September 10th, when he was released from imprisonment by judicial action.

3d. Had Gov. Robinson been clothed with regal power, a prisoner as he was when those murders were committed, he could not have prevented that cowardly midnight assassination, neither could he have brought the guilty wretches to justice.

Even if Gov. Robinson, James Hanway and a thousand equally good men should say midnight assassination was justifiable without arrest, trial and conviction by a properly constituted and legal court, modern intelligence would condemn their judgment. It was an unauthorized and indefensible murder, disguise it as much as possible, even calling it an "execution," a falsehood on its face, does not change the character of the crime.

Had the Doyles, Wilkinson and Sherman attacked John Brown and his associate guerillas in their homes, or while pursuing their legitimate duties on the highway, and were unable to ward off the attack, the killing would have been justifiable in defense of their own lives. Mere threats, however, in drunken anger, do not justify homicide.

Like cowardly poltroons, the assassins in these murders, under the cover of darkness, while the victims were peacefully sleeping in their own beds, all unconscious of danger, dragged them out into the darkness and slaughtered them as they would swine.

Gov. Robinson, over his own signature, told in his own words why he chanced to write and speak complimentary of the assassin. Let us hear him. In a

letter to, and published in the Boston Transcript, June 12, 1884, the Governor said:

"Until the testimony of Mr. Townsley appeared, many Free State men apologized for the massacre on the ground that the men killed were worthy of death for their crimes. With these apologies I sympathized, supposing what Redpath and others said was true. This was the testimony on which the case chiefly rested till Townsley's was given. Had Redpath's statements proved true as to the character and conduct of the men killed, I should have continued to apologize for the men who committed the deed, although it never could be justified. But I have now become satisfied that Redpath's account is all fiction, except the statement that the men were killed. I BELIEVE THESE MEN HAD COMMITTED NO CRIME, AND HAD THREATENED TO COMMIT NONE. Townsley's statement that Brown wanted him to go up the creek five or six miles and point out the cabins of all the pro-slavery men that they might make a clean sweep as they came down, shows conclusively that he was ready to kill any pro-slavery man, guilty or not guilty, and hence shows that his purpose was to inaugurate war, and not to make a free State.

"I entertain no malice towards this hero, have apologized for him probably a thousand times, and never lifted a finger to oppose any honors to his memory by the State or nation. While I believed the men butchered were bad men, belligerents, as described by Redpath and others, I excused the killing as best I could, and contemplated writing out a statement to be filed with our Historical Society, setting forth the outrages committed by these and similar men. But before I had time to write this statement I became satisfied from new and conclusive evidence that these men were innocent of all crime or threatened crime, and that their taking off was not intended for the protection of Free State men from their outrages and such as theirs, but was intended by Brown as an act of offensive war. When I became satisfied on these points, I abandoned the work and ceased apologies for Brown.

"When this massacre occurred I had been absent from the territory and a prisoner some two weeks, and knew nothing whatever of the situation in the Pottawatomie region. I was told that the pro-slavery men there had inaugurated a war of extermination of the Free State settlers, and that this massacre had put a stop to it. This was uncontradicted, and I had every reason to suppose there was some foundation in fact for such statements."

Of F. B. Sanborn, Gov. Robinson said in that letter from which we have just quoted:

"The quotation from Mr. Adams by Sanborn in his letter showed conclusively that when I wrote to Mr. Adams I had not been undeceived. He reports me as thinking 'the act (at Pottawatomie) did in fact have the effect to check the career of wholesale murder which the pro-slavery men had entered upon, intending to kill or drive from Kansas every out-spoken Free State man in the territory.'

"In the Hanway letter I say, 'I will improve my first leisure to put on paper my views of the situation at the time.' What were my views of the situation? Adams's letter says that I thought a 'career of wholesale murder had been entered upon, intending to kill or drive from Kansas every out-spoken man in the territory.'

"Had that view proved correct, my apologies for Brown would have continued, but unfortunately it has no foundation in fact, and the conclusion is inevitable that John Brown by that act intended to 'involve the sections in war' and not to protect Free State men.

"My view now is, after investigation, that not a man had been killed south of Douglas county up to that date; that the men killed by Brown had committed no crime, and threatened to commit none; and that Brown was ready to kill any pro-slavery man he could find simply because he was pro-slavery. It is unnecessary to say that this change of view of the situation has completely changed my view of Brown and the Pottawatomie 'affair.'

"Until after the date of the Hanway letter I had made no investigation into the matter, and apologized for the massacre as best I could. But as soon as an honest and impartial investigation was made the case was wholly changed. Instead of these men being criminals they had not even threatened to commit a crime, and as there was no war of extermination contemplated by them, no such war had been stopped by their massacre. These are the facts, as I have no doubt, and facts brought out by non-partisan and disinterested investigators, and I am obliged, if honest, to accept them, whatever may have been my previous opinion. The speech he refers to as made at Osawatomie was made at Paola the evening after the meeting at Osawatomie, and was simply an apology based upon a state of facts which I supposed existed, but which now I am satisfied did not exist. I made such apologies all through the Fremont campaign in answer to Democratic criticism, and made them honestly, as honestly as I now retract

them. The letter of the 14th of September, 1856, if genuine, was called out by Brown's action in defending Osawatomie, as Sanborn has already stated, and could have had no reference to the Pottawatomie massacre, as up to that time everybody denied Brown's connection with it. By the way, if Sanborn thinks it a disgrace to admit a mistake on discovery of new facts, what does he think of himself? Until long after Brown's death, Sanborn and all Brown's family and partisans denied that he was connected with or responssble for the Pottawatomie massacre. . . .

"If history furnishes a parallel to the cold-blooded, unblushing, persistent, and unscrupulous lying of John Brown, his family, and friends, I have not discovered it, yet it is of such men some people make heroes."

Then Gov. Robinson shows Sanborn was guilty of great inexactness in misrepresenting Col. Walker, and concludes:

"If a person who can make a hero of a man who went to the gallows with a lie upon his lips, and glorify a family who persisted in lying for nearly thirty years, and who can himself manufacture lies to order out of whole cloth on occasion—if such a man is shocked at a person who changes his views only when a new discovery of facts warrants the change, he must be peculiarly sensitive. It is to be hoped that but few such characters are to be found outside of the Concord School of Philosophy."

Gov. Robinson, in a letter published in The Commonwealth, Topeka, December 12, 1883, p. 41, Vol II, of our John Brown Scrap Book, told a great truth when he wrote:

"The halo of glory has already disappeared from the brow of John Brown, and twenty-five years will not elapse before Kansans will pride themselves upon the fact that he was never a citizen of the territory or State. There are but two acts of Brown that will survive this generation and pass into history--the Pottawatomie Massacre and Harper's Ferry raid--both indefensible. As he is distinguished for

nothing else he will be judged by these so soon as his contemporaries are under ground, and will be condemned by the popular verdict. History is relentless and merciless, and will overlook no errors or mistakes, much less blunders and crimes."

Continuing from the same letter, Gov. Robinson said:

"Sanborn is a very poor historian of Brown, being an accomplice of his in betraying an important trust, by diverting funds contributed for the lawful defense of Kansas to the inauguration of servile insurrection and war, which the contributors would most vehemently condemn. The Senate Harper's Ferry Committee indissolubly united John Brown and F. B. Sanborn in that act, and any history he might attempt must necessarily partake of the nature of a personal vindication. As nothing was accomplished but the death of some twenty men at Harper's Ferry, something to Brown's credit must be made out of the Pottawatomie massacre, if possible. Hence Sanborn's effort to make the freedom of Kansas hinge upon this act, and his flippant use of epithets against all who think other instrumentalities than Brown and his massacre saved Kansas. The military companies which bore themselves so bravely, discreetly and loyally to the Free State party, which were, in fact, of that party, being voters as well as fighters, and politicians as well as soldiers, are classed as dastards by Sanborn, as compared with Brown. But it won't avail. When the contemporaries are out of the way, leaving a clear field to the historian, the heroes will have disappeared and the old Free State party and its military organizations will come to the surface and receive their just meed of praise, and no Sanborn will be found to cry dastard of those who saved Kansas to freedom, and by so doing, started the wave of emancipation which eventually swept over the land. Brown came to Kansas, according to Redpath, not to settle and not to make a free State, but to get a shot at the South and abolish slavery. He failed in his mission and went to Virginia, and failed again most miserably. The Free State men came to Kansas to settle and make a free State, and they succeeded, not only in making Kansas free, but, indirectly, the nation. Now Sanborn wants to falsify history by defaming the victors and glorifying the failure."

"A man should never blush in confessing his errors, for he proves by his avowal that he is wiser to-day than yesterday."

So wrote an eminent French scholar a hundred and fifty years ago; but Mr. Connelley arraigns Gov. Robinson very bitterly for changing his opinion of John Brown, and of his services to Kansas. When Mr. Connelley shall know more of his hero, the midnight assassin, we hope, instead of persisting in his folly he will demonstrate that he is wiser to-day than when he wrote his "John Brown."

We cannot believe it possible Mr. Connelley wrote the paragraph that heads this section. It betrays too gross ignorance of the facts of history to fit so intelligent a pen. It is of the same character with the multitude of notes running all through his "John Brown," which only the malevolence of *Richard J. Hinton*, with no regard for truth, could have written.

Mr. Sanborn, as an accomplice of Old John Brown before the fact, in his Virginia raid, murder and treason, and not executed with his principal, has concocted the best defence of the assassin his pen was capable by charging it on God. We controvert the allegation, however, and demur to its sufficiency.*

*The newspapers tell as we write of a Michigan preacher, one Thomas Ridge, who professed to believe the Lord had instructed him to collect a bill due from a neighbor, with a revolver. He made a murderous assault with the deadly instrument, and was convicted in the Circuit Court of the offense and received the usual penalty. His alleged commission from Divine power wasn't worth a cent in a court of human justice. Would Sanborn's "Inspired of God" avail anything in the way of defence for Old John Brown in such a Court? If so every other assassin can successfully justify himself with a similar plea.

XXVI.

Never Glorify Crime.

IN OUR "Reminiscences of Old John Brown," published in 1880, which had a very large reading, we said, p. 65:

"Heroes are the idols of the age in which they live. Statues are erected to their memory when dead. Costly monuments adorn their resting places, and lying epitaphs perpetuate the popular applause. Another generation follows. Cool reflection takes the place of the frenzied hour. Histories are ransacked; the truth is learned; the hero of yesterday is forgotten to-day; and, like Marat, in French history, his bones are removed from their resting place by the side of kings; his portraits are torn down and trampled upon; his mausoleum is demolished, and fragments of his magnificent monument are all that remain of him whom a 'grateful nation' so highly honored as to vote a pension for life to his concubine."

A poet advised his readers to "be a hero in the strife." A Kansas journalist, with that expression for a text, facetiously remarks: "It is evident that poet has not observed what happens to heroes when they pass the climax of popularity, and the reaction sets in." The writer must have had the waning glory of Old John Brown in mind when he thus wrote.

Lord Mansfield, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, England, in 1772, decided "As soon as a slave sets his foot on the soil of the British islands he becomes free; the air is so pure he cannot breathe it." In the British Parliament, in 1770, while a member of that body, Mansfield expressed himself very emphatically in regard to those who are misled by the brazen shouts of the populace, quite ignorant of the influences which lead them on. Said he:

"I pity those who mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of Fame. Experience teaches that many who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next. Many, who, by the popularity of their times, have

been held as spotless patriots have nevertheless appeared on the historian's page, when Truth has triumphed over delusion, as the assassins of liberty."

Mrs. Dr. Buckner, formerly from New England, then principal of a Ladies' Seminary in Texas, and the author of a book of poems, lately deceased in Florida, wrote us twenty years ago, in ordering a copy of our Old John Brown:

"I have never read anything but fugitive sketches of John Brown. My idea of him is, he did and dared for the sake of freedom. In this respect he seems heroic to me. I love to worship, if I do have to idolize my gods."

After receiving and reading the book she wrote:

"I have taken 'Old John Brown' down from the pleasant alcove, around whose borders I had allowed green running vines to creep and twine in all their wild luxuriance of freedom; above whose arch I had placed the shining star of Liberty. I have now thrown around his weird, unique form a mantle of sack-cloth, sprinkled it with ashes, and shall entomb him with my dead idols."

We know it is popular, and the idea is fossilized in the maxim: "Speak no evil of the dead;" but must the great criminals whose associates labor to glorify their wickedness, be exempt from reprobation, because they have suffered death at the hands of law, or, by their own hand?

A new generation is with us who have no knowledge of the criminal acts of Old John Brown. Before going to Kansas, and later to Virginia, his history was very obscure. We hold it is the duty of the few yet living, who were contemporary with him, and in full possession of the facts pertaining to his guilt, to tell what they know of his bloody deeds, as a warning to those who shall follow us. Unless we desire to immortalize wrong we must not honor it, or those who are guilty of criminal acts. Honied words, when exposing guilt have no place in our vocabulary.

Palsied be the arm, and paralyzed the heart when we cease to denounce crime, whether perpetrated in high or in low places; whether the authors are professed reformers, or engage in acts of violence from a love of blood. A Torquemada who slaughters to advance the interests of his church is no less guilty, and should be as severely condemned as he who kills for revenge, or with the hope of advancing his material interests.

"He who glorifies crime, or connives at its concealment, is guilty of moral perjury, and deserves not only the censure but hatred of every lover of justice." So wrote another.

Jim Younger, the notorious "Bushwhacker," murderer, highwayman, and thief, the associate of the guerilla chieftain Quantrell, in his raid on Lawrence, the hero of a multitude of crimes, from some of which this writer severely suffered pecuniarily, who suicided while this booklet was in press, had friends who trusted and loved him, and would have sacrificed much in his interest. They believed him a martyr to principle, a persecuted man, and as such, will probably erect a monument to his memory. He was the antithesis of John Brown. Each thought he was doing God's service; and both slaughtered under the impression that they had His approbation. The less crime is glorified the better for the morals of coming generations.

Said an old soldier of the War of the Rebellion, who is covered all over with scars, caused by wounds from the bullets of the enemy:

"I dislike very much to hear those who enlisted in the government service, near the close of the war, who never received a wound, or participated in a battle, telling of their great importance in putting down the rebellion. Those who endured the fatigue and hazard of life on the march and in the field, frequently short

of commissary stores, who know what civil strife is, are generally reticent, while the unworthy demand all the glory."

This is exactly the case with the writer. He went to Kansas among the first, not for fame or the emoluments of office, but to aid in making it a free State. He greatly dislikes to see all the honors for the noble achievement, won by others, awarded those who were absolute obstructionists to the grand outcome; and of such we insist again and again, was John Brown, and so asserted, times without number, nearly all the principal contestants in the pioneer war with slavery.

XXVII.

Points Omitted in Place.

BEFORE closing these pages it is proper to state, since we are writing for a new generation unacquainted with the facts, that the claim of Redpath, Hinton, Sanborn and Connelley, that John Brown was the powerful factor which defended Lawrence at the Missouri raid of September 15, 1856, has no foundation in fact. Redpath was not there, neither was Sanborn, nor Connelley. Neither was Richard Realf, who told in verse how the "prairies breathed" on that occasion. Hinton arrived on the northern boundary of Kansas, according to his own narration, on the 7th of August, 1856. On August 31, '56, Hinton reached Lawrence. This was but fifteen days before the raid. It seems from his story, he must have been a stranger to every person in Lawrence.

Hinton assisted Redpath in writing the Life of John Brown. The presumption is that Hinton gave rein to his active and unscrupulous imagination, and wrote up that wondrous account of his fictitious hero defending Lawrence against an army of 2,700, and

produced a slaughter only approached at Osawatomie, where a multitude were wounded, or slain, by this unconquerable hero, though, in fact, the killed were all on his side, the enemy only suffering from three slight wounds.

The writer stated the facts in regard to that defence of Lawrence, on pp. 33 to 36, of his "Reminiscences of Old John Brown," and showed that Brown was not in command; that he did not appear to be armed; that he made no speech, nor exercised any authority on the occasion. The discussion which followed our relation of the facts elicited statements from Col. Samuel Walker, Maj. Abbott, who *was* in command, Capt. Cracklin in command of the Stubbs, who resisted the advance guard the evening before, all of whose statements agreed in every essential particular, and were confirmed by Gov. Robinson himself, who was there in person, yet they were all ignored by Connelley and Sanborn, and Hinton's wholly false account, from a fictitious standpoint, is given the preference. Realf's poetical romance was doubtless inspired by Hinton. In the "Twentieth Century Classic," for August, 1900, p. 35, Hinton tells of narrating to a party of which Realf was one, on Mt. Oread, the incidents of that terrible fight, which Realf rendered into verse, and he says: "I know that no misrepresentation was made," and that, be it remembered, from the romancer so late as 1900, with all the truthful accounts we have mentioned before him.

It does not matter to what subject we turn in relation to Old John Brown—if we can trace the account of it for the first to Hinton's prolific pen, investigation will prove it to be wholly imaginative. We had censured Redpath for his published falsehoods,

and supposed him their parent; but when we find Hinton was Redpath's assistant in the preparation of the "Life of Brown," and as Redpath never defended his falsehoods, but Hinton did, and as Redpath and Hinton fell out and ceased to be friends after the exposure of Redpath's falsehoods, we suspicion it was because of them. It seems, too, that Wm. A. Phillips and P. B. Plumb both ceased to be friends of Hinton. See Vol. V, p. 379 "Kansas Historical Collections," and p. 20 "Memorial Addresses on Senator Plumb."

With these facts as keys we can understand who wrote the original of "The Battle of the Spurs," so graphically described by Connelley, p. 329 of his "John Brown," an enlargement of Tam O'Shanter's adventures, as told by Burns.

We are glad to note that Connelley gave no credit to the alleged kissing adventure of Old John on his way from the jail to the gallows. That was denied by the sheriff and the jailer. The original of that scene was borrowed from Macauley, in relation to Charles I, of England.

"We accuse the king of having given up his people to the merciless inflictions of the most hot-headed and hard-hearted of prelates; and the defence is: *He took his little son on his knee and kissed him.*"

So to glorify John Brown, and show what a tender heart he had, notwithstanding his terrible murders, his romancers made him kiss a negro child when going from the jail to the hangman's cart, at a time when every citizen was excluded and only armed soldiers, additional to the civil officers, were present.

To add to the ludicrousness of the scene, a colored man appeared in Topeka a few years ago, and claimed he was the identical and original baby John Brown kissed.

Mr. Connelley: You lost another of your opportunities in not detailing that incident.

But to follow all the misrepresentations and exaggerations of Mr. Connelley in detail would swell this booklet into mammoth proportions. In a letter to us of date June 11, 1902, over his own signature, Mr. Connelley wrote:

"I regret more than I can tell that anything in the book ["John Brown"] causes you pain. More than once have I regretted that I ever attempted to write on the subject of Kansas history. The different parties and factions were always intensely hostile to one another, and personal differences uniformly resulted in such intense bitterness that the task is beset with many difficulties. I am learning, too, that it is well-nigh impossible to get at the exact facts."

He who reads Connelly's "John Brown" will see at a glance it was the purpose of the author to defame G. W. Brown; that Gov. Robinson, Eli Thayer, James Blood and many others, came in for abuse, because they sustained the statements of this G. W. Brown in regard to those Pottawatomie assassinations. He promised in that letter to make corrections in a future edition.

To correct all the falsehoods in the edition of "John Brown" before us would require the re-writing of its every page, a task that will never be done—the people will never demand it. And if he accepts Hinton as truthful, it will be impossible to make a work which will harmonize with the accurate statements of those who tell nothing but *facts*.

In that same letter Mr. Connelley acknowledges the receipt of our "Reminiscences of Gov. Robert J. Walker, with the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas from Slavery." He says of it:

"I regard this work as a very valuable contribution

to our history. The people of this State certainly owe you a debt of gratitude for writing it. It preserves much that is vital to our history, which would have been lost but for your efforts."

Thanks to Mr. Connelley for his concessions. He should recall the fact that even Hinton, with all his malice, virtually conceded we were right in our support of the Voting Policy, which made Kansas free. And he does not deny any longer that John Brown led the bandits in their Pottawatomie murders. He may adopt John Speer and F. B. Sanborn's silly claim that they were "executions," but all we claimed in our "Old John Brown," and for which there was no end of vituperation, is now admitted by both of these men as absolutely truthful.

We hold no animosity to Mr. Connelley. Friends who know him, say he means to be honest and truthful. The facts are, he has been shamefully misled by Hinton, who he supposed was veracious, whereas no person has done so much to falsify history as he. We have no question the time will come when Mr. C. will be conscious of this as we are; and, if faithful to his convictions, he will execrate Old John Brown and his introduction of midnight slaughter into the politics of Kansas as earnestly as we do.

XXVIII.

Fanaticism Run Mad.

"WHEN the Missouri compromise was passed and the State came into the Union, there came into manhood a man whose name, not perhaps in power of intellect, must, in character and in earnestness of purpose, be regarded as the opposite of Calhoun. It is that of a man whose single act *shivered the walls of slavery*, so that the citadel parted from rampart to foundation, and the marching hosts of the North went through. It was John Brown, born in Torrington, Conn., but

hero of Kansas and Harper's Ferry. I take John Brown to represent as faithfully the real Northern idea as John Caldwell Calhoun did that of the slaveocracy and its expansionists."

It is positively incomprehensible how a man with even common intelligence, still in possession of his sober senses, could iterate such supreme nonsense as is above quoted from p. 181, Vol. 6, of the "Kansas Historical Collections," it being an extract from an address by Richard J. Hinton, before the Kansas Historical Society, January 16, 1900.

John Brown the opposite of John C. Calhoun, "whose single act shivered the walls of slavery!"

The six years' laborious contest in Kansas, participated in by thousands of zealous defenders of freedom, and the four years' struggle against the slavery propaganda, wherein millions participated, and the whole country was literally "rolled in blood," counted as nothing. It was John Brown who "shivered the walls of slavery!"

The great men of the nation, Wm. H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, John P. Hale, Joshua R. Giddings, and the thousands of other great and good men who laid the foundation, in Congress and out of it, of anti-slavery hostility to the encroachments of the slave-power, counted as nothing with Mr. Hinton compared to the superior services of Old John Brown! It is a re-habiliment, in other language, of Sanborn's "inspired of God" claim.

Is it possible such silly mouthings are to pass into history as truthful? And yet they are characteristic of the false claims of the entire list of the John Brown eulogists.

Sanborn's claim that the freedom of Kansas "hinged" on the Pottawatomie murders, and Hinton's that John Brown was the anti-slavery counterpart of

John C. Calhoun, are only paralleled by Connelley's claim that he was the "Savior of Kansas."

Hinton, Sanborn and Connelley seem to have attempted to rival each other in their endeavor to glorify John Brown, and berate others. Even Washington and Franklin have been placed in an inferior position to Brown by some of the hero worshipers. When reading the eulogies bestowed by these men on their hero we can only recall the wonderful doings credited by the ancients to Buddha, to Crishna, and the sun-gods, who lifted mountains for umbrellas, and did a thousand other things quite as impossible.

It will not do to trust the eulogists of either gods or men. They overdo their task; and expose their folly by their excess of laudation.

John C. Calhoun though a Southern extremist, and, because of his commanding ability, was dangerous to the American Republic; yet he was a man of great learning, varied attainments, and unusual force of character. He served seven years as Secretary of War under the two terms of President Monroe; was Vice President during John Quincy Adams' administration, and again during the first term of President Jackson's. Then he was elected to the United States Senate, which office he filled for twelve years, the peer of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Thomas H. Benton, and the ablest minds in that body.

Calhoun's nullification scheme, which clothed STATES with power to withdraw from the Union at will, and John Brown's setting up a *private* government of his own to defeat not only the laws of Congress and the enactments of State Legislatures, but repudiating the Constitution itself, are the two extremes of anarchistic folly, both ending in the destruction of the originators and those who indorsed their

folly. In Brown's case it was a family, with a few outside backers, against a powerful nation. The only real contrast between these men is that of greatness on the one hand, and insignificance as to results on the other.

While concluding these chapters a meeting was held of anarchists in Chicago, in honor of their fellows whose lives were ended there on the gallows in 1887, for the murder of policemen. Hinton's eulogies of John Brown found a parallel in the crazy declarations of these anarchist speakers.

One George Brown, of Philadelphia, stirred his hearers to the fullest extent, when he referred to the assassination of President McKinley, by Leon Czolgosz. Said he:

"Government, be it of whatever form it may, is an injustice. It is maintained by organized violence."

Then, says the report, he launched into a tirade against the authorities who had seized upon the leaders of the Haymarket meeting, that fateful night in May, 1886, recounting the death struggle that he had witnessed in person from a neighboring doorway. He talked of the ideals of anarchy, and came at length to the deed of Leon Czolgosz:

"The sympathies and the support of the righteous are with the moral heroes, with the man who possesses moral courage. What more glorious spectacle can there ever be than that of that young man, calm and self-possessed in the throng, his right hand thrust beneath the folds of his coat. The tyrant comes, the hand is withdrawn, and the tyrant has passed away."

This reference to the Buffalo tragedy passed unnoticed for a full half minute, and then a wave of wild applause broke out all over the hall.

John Brown and his accomplices were the *avant-coureurs* of these anarchists.

XXIX.

Recapitulation.

WITH the story of Col. JAMES BLOOD, quoted at length in the APPENDIX, before us, and all the preceding facts given in this little book in our possession, then we have a complete account of the great crime of the 19th century, which accomplices attempted, and for twenty-four years succeeded, in concealing from the world, so far as the real actors were concerned, else misrepresented to glorify their chief.

We find the assassin, in a fit of crazy anger, calling for volunteers to engage in the terrible crime;

We find him grinding his short broadswords preparatory to the horrible slaughter;

We find him, his sons, and other accomplices, *en route* for the homes of his victims, begging to have his movements concealed, and exhibiting evidences of his contemplated guilt;

We find him and his associate assassins at their destination, engaged in the awful massacre, a pistol-shot from the chief in the forehead of a victim; then blows, cutting, slashing, stabbing with claymores other victims, the hot blood spouting from ghastly wounds; then dead, horribly mutilated, and great pools of clotted blood forming at their side;

Concealment, denying for twenty-four years any personal connection with the affair, is additional evidence of the criminal character of the offence.

When the proof of guilt was conclusively estab-

lished by the revelations of an accessory, then the persons slaughtered were maliciously maligned, and another series of falsehoods were concocted, and repeated with such energy, as to be believed for a time.

The indorsers of these crimes, with an attempt at justification, basely charged Gov. ROBINSON with being privy to them, in fact directory; and even went so far as to shamefully represent he wished the principal assassin to engage in other crimes of like magnitude!

Huge volumes have been written and published in late years glorifying those crimes; and, so far as the authors had ability, canonizing their chieftain as a saint, worthy of imitation by the youth of the world.

Clergymen from their pulpits, have honored this hero of bloody violence, of carnage and of death, as a faithful disciple of the Master, who inculcated love of fellow man, and "do as you would be done by."

Even politicians have exalted this man of gore into a greater than Washington or Franklin; and poets have sung in his praise; while monuments have been erected to his memory; and a great State has dedicated a Park to perpetuate the fame of a MURDERER, hung on the gallows for only a fraction of his crimes.

With this brief recapitulation of facts is it surprising this writer has been maligned and libeled in the interest of crime and falsehood? May he not congratulate himself, and be thankful he has escaped the vengeance of these traducers of real merit, and bolsterers of guilt, with his life, and has survived

to tell another gsneration the Truth in regard to this bloody drama in the pioneer history of Kansas?

Finally, we appeal to WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY, if prompted to be truthful, as his friends allege, to keep his word, and denounce the crime and execrate the assassin, as he promised in the extract we made from his "John Brown," quoted on page 46 of this booklet.

XXX.

Conclusion.

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints in the sands of time."

BUT THESE footprints should not bear the traces of crime and human gore, neither should the hands drip with blood. Victims writhing in agony, slaughtered by malice and revenge, do not betoken a sublime life. The glad shouts of the free, in whose trail are throbbing hearts racked by grief, agonizing moans because of loved ones slain, and orphans' wail for parents dead, in peaceful homes, guilty of no crime but holding adverse views to their slayer, will not gladden the hearts of the truly brave, the loyal and the good. And he who attempts to glorify midnight assassination, and hold up the author as a great moral hero, whose acts the young should emulate and Christians adore, should be defeated in his ambition, and taught that such action does not comport with the character of the Master. The robber, the burglar, the highwayman, the freebooter, the pirate, the assassin, cannot acquire fame and ennoble his life by after deeds

of charity, or acts of philanthropy. There is blood on the hand still, and all the waters of the ocean cannot wash it away.

In the adapted language of another:

True fame is not the birthright of the hero. The blaze of glory that has so long encircled his head, and dazzled the world with its brilliancy, is beginning to grow dim. The laurels that decorate his brow have been gathered from a soil enriched with human gore, and watered by the tears of bereavement. The fancied eminence on which he stands has been gained by slaughter. His way to it led over the dead and mutilated bodies of his fellow citizens, whose warm hearts had ceased to throb; and the music that followed his tread was the widow's moan and the orphan's wail. True fame breathes not in the deep-heaving sigh of despairing love, nor draws its immortality from groans, and tears, and sighs, in desolated homes. It has a higher origin, a nobler birth, a more elevated aim.

TRUE FAME consists in the lofty aspirations after intellectual and moral truth. When these are gained and cherished, so deep will be the convictions of duty, sustained by sterling honor, that no popularity, no bribes of wealth and splendor, no fear of frowns, nor even the hazard of life exposed to wasting tortures, shall deter the possessor from expressing and maintaining such TRUTH.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO FALSE CLAIMS.

Letter from Col. Blood.

COL. JAMES BLOOD has been referred to, on pages 17, 19, 33, and, more fully, on page 52 of this booklet. The few survivors of those pioneer days need no indorsement from any one of Col. Blood's great moral, social and political worth. It remained for Wm. E. Connelley, pp. 211, 212, of his "John Brown," to attempt to besmirch the Colonel, and throw doubt on his statements. The only truthful persons in all Kansas, as would appear by Connelley, were those who for twenty-four years insisted John Brown was in no way responsible for the Pottawatomie murders, other than he approved of them; then, when the evidence of his guilt was overwhelming, discovered he was "inspired of God" to murder. The Colonel's narration will be read with great interest:

LAWRENCE, Kan., Nov. 29, 1879.

G. W. BROWN, M. D.:—Yours of the 19th inst., was duly received, but I have hesitated to comply with your request to write for publication a statement of what I know about the "Pottawatomie massacre," in 1856. I was not "an eye witness," but have concluded to make a statement of incidents that came within my observation, as I recollect them.

In the spring of 1856, I went East on business, leaving my family in Lawrence. I was in New Hampshire, when I learned the Border Ruffians were gathering, under ruffianly federal officers, to destroy Lawrence. I immediately started for home, arriving at Kansas City, I think, on the 21st of May, 1856. I could find no way of getting to Lawrence, direct, but hired a close hack to take me, with two or three friends (one of them was F. F. Bliss, now residing at Oskaloosa) to Osawatomie. We instructed the driver to say to any one who might halt us, that he was taking some men to Pleasant Hill, Missouri. We drove south through Westport, and the parties halting us appeared to be satisfied with the reply of the driver. We stayed that night at a farm house in Missouri a short distance south of Westport. The next day, the 22nd, we took dinner with Baptiste Peoria, where Paola now stands, and arrived at Osawatomie in the afternoon. From there we sent the hack back to Kansas City.

The next morning I bought a horse of O. C. Brown who will be remembered by the old settlers as the original Osawatomie Brown. After having the horse shod, I started in the afternoon of the 23rd of May, from Osawatomie for Lawrence, by way of Ottawa Jones' and Palmyra.

I was informed while at Osawatomie that the active pro-slavery men of that part of the territory had gone to Lecompton to join the Border Ruffians in their attack upon Lawrence, and that most of the Free State men had gone, under the lead of Capt. John Brown, Jr., to aid in the defence of Lawrecne.

It was nearly sun-down that afternoon when, between Pottawatomie Creek and Middle Creek, and but a few miles from the Doyle settlement, I saw a party

of men coming from the west and going toward Pottawatomie Creek.. As we approached each other I could see the gleam of the sun's rays reflected from the moving gun-barrels of the party in a wagon. When within perhaps 100 yards they stopped, and a man rose up in the wagon and cried, halt! I immediately recognized old John Brown, and stated who I was, calling him by name. I was then allowed to approach the party. There were in the wagon John Brown, and, to the best of my recollection, four of his sons, his son-in-law, and a man driving the team, whom I did not know, making seven in the wagon. There was also a man on horseback, I think his name was Winer.

The party all appeared to be fully armed with rifles, revolvers, knives or swords. I think some of them at least had a peculiar instrument, something like a Scotch claymore, or a short, very heavy broadsword. John Brown had presented me with one of the same kind, while at Lawrence, during the Wakarusa war, in the fall of 1855.

I talked with the old man for some time. I believe he was tha only one of the party who spoke. He said they had left Capt. John Brown, Jr., with the Pottawatomie campany, in camp near Palmyra. He informed me that Lawrence had been sacked and burned, and that a number of leading Free State men had been taken prisoners. *He seemed very indignant that there had been no resistance;* that Lawrence was not defended; and denounced the members of the committee and leading Free State men as cowards, or worse. *His manner was wild and frenzied,* and the whole party watched with excited eagerness every word and motion of the old man. Finally, as I left them, he requested me not to mention the fact

that I had met them, as they were on a *secret expedition* and did not want any one to know they were in that neighborhood.

I came on, and when I arrived at Middle Creek it was dark—so dark that immediately after crossing the creek I lost the road, and after riding some time returned to the crossing, where I found the road and arrived at Jones' late in the night.

The next morning, the 24th, I again started for Lawrence. When I arrived at Palmyra, I found the Pottawatomie company, with one or two other companies of Free State men, and there learned that Capt. John Brown, Jr., had gone to Lawrence to learn the condition of things there.

I rode on toward Lawrence, and met Capt. Brown, Jr., south of Wakarusa. From him I obtained the first reliable information as to what had taken place at Lawrence. He appeared to be in good spirits and perfectly rational.

When a day or two later we heard of the massacre of the Doyles, Wilkinson and Sherman, on the Pottawatomie, on the night of the 23rd, I could have no doubt as to who committed the deed. I could not resist the conviction that it was done with those Scotch claymores. I remembered the wild, frenzied look and appearance of old John Brown and his party, when I met them near the Pottawatomie settlement, on that evening, and only a few hours before those men were killed.

I believe the Free State men here regarded this horrible tragedy with more sincere and sorrowful regret than any other incident of our struggle. It was regarded as terribly damaging to the Free State party and cause. No sufficient justification or defence could be made.

I sincerely believed it was the work of insane men. Their halting at that distance a solitary traveler, who was apparently unarmed, and upon the open prairie where they could see for miles around, seemed to me evidence of insanity. Certainly that number of so well-armed men could not fear an assault and capture, or that they were in any immediate danger. I noticed that while we were in conversation the boys watched every look and gesture of the old man—keeping their guns in their hands ready for instant action.

A short time after the Pottawatomie massacre I had a conversation with George Partridge, an old acquaintance and friend of mine from Wisconsin, who was then a settler on the Pottawatomie. He was a strong anti-slavery man, and was killed later that summer in the fight at Osawatomie.

Mr. Partridge informed me that he was a member of Capt. John Brown, Jr.'s company, and was with them on their expedition to Palmyra, in May. He said that old John Brown became frenzied at the condition of affairs in the territory, and the refusal or failure of Free State men to fight; that the old man left the company on the 23rd with six or seven others, and against the remonstrance of his son, Capt. John Brown, Jr.; that when on the afternoon and evening of the 24th of May, while in camp at Ottawa Jones', news was received of the massacre, Capt. Brown, Jr., became insane, and was taken home the next day a maniac.

Mr. Partridge also stated that the only provocation the Doyles had given, so far as he knew, was: *At the spring election, a short time before, Doyle expressed his dislike for negroes and abolitionists, and that Brown expressed his dislike of pro-slavery men.*

*He said denunciations and threats were made on both sides.**

In the foregoing I have stated the incidents as I recollect them. Mr. Partridge had no doubt the killing was done by old John Brown and his party, and sincerely regretted the affair.

I believe when we heard of the Pottawatomie massacre Col. Samuel Walker was sent down there by the committee, of which Gen. Babcock was chairman, to learn all the facts in relation to the matter. Perhaps Colonel Walker or Gen. Babcock could furnish some information on the subject. JAMES BLOOD.

In a letter dated March 23, 1884, published in the Herald-Tribune, of Lawrence, COL. BLOOD, replying to misrepresentations and falsifications by Ingalls, Capt. Anthony and J. F. Legate, denied there was any disturbance on the Pottawatomie, as these men and others alleged, which prompted the murders. The facts recited in the above letter are repeated, with some additions, in this second letter. From these additions we make the following extracts:

"I left Osawatomie on the afternoon of May 23, '56, for Lawrence. All was very quiet there. The only excitement seemed to be about what was taking place at Lawrence. I rode up through the Pottawatomie settlement that afternoon. All appeared very peaceful and quiet. I saw a few men at work in the fields and the women and children at work or play about the cabins I passed. I saw no one on the road until I left Pottawatomie Creek."

*Of all the fifteen or over different motives given for this terrible massacre, including that by Capt. Brown himself, to Gov. Crawford, this by Mr. Partridge, to Col. Blood, seems the most plausible.

Col. Blood then tells of meeting Old John and his banditti, and says:

"Then I informed Brown that I was just from Osawatomie, and was on my way to Lawrence. He made no inquiries about the condition of affairs at Osawatomie, or in the settlement through which I had just passed; did not inquire if I had heard of any trouble."

The Colonel then tells of coming in contact with John Brown, Jr.'s company:

"I stopped and talked with them some time. No inquiries were made about any trouble on the Pottawatomie. On my way from Palmyra to Lawrence I met John, Jr., returning from Lawrence. I told him I was just up from Osawatomie. He appeared in good health and spirits; made no inquiry about any trouble on the Pottawatomie. I was informed a few days after by a member of his company that on arriving at Palmyra he took his company back to their camp on Ottawa Creek, near Prairie City, where they remained until the afternoon of the next day, the 25th, when a rumor reached the camp of the massacre the night before on the Pottawatomie; that they started on their return home that afternoon, camping for the night on Ottawa Creek, near Jones', and that late that evening John Brown and party came into camp; that after an interview with his father John Jr. was so much disturbed they had to watch with him that night, and took him home the next day, out of his mind, *insane;* that he remained in that condition until he was arrested by the U. S. troops several days after.

"The grounds hitherto taken by the defenders of John Brown, in justification of the Pottawatomie massacre proving untenable, I would suggest for the de-

fense another theory, *monomania. I believe this to be the true and only defence that can be made.* On the arrival of the Pottawatomie company at Prairie City on the 22nd of May, they received a rumor, or report, that Lawrence had been sacked and destroyed, and that no defense was made by the Free State men. *This report from Lawrence had such an effect upon the mind of John Brown as to produce monomania, and the massacre was the work of a monomaniac.* It seems incredible that a well-armed company of seventy-five or a hundred men, believing their homes and their families were in immediate, imminent danger, in fact were then being maltreated, should have remained for at least three days, contentedly and inactively in camp, within less than a day's march of their homes, and only start for home immediately after hearing of the massacre that took place on the night before. I should like to inquire why, if such a message as they represent was received in the camp, from their wives and families on the 22d of May, the whole company did not immediately return? There were no bands of pro-slavery men in the vicinity of their camp; their services were not then needed in Lawrence. There appears to have been nothing to prevent their return home. *At the time the massacre was universally regretted and condemned.* John Brown and his friends denied his participation. *No one pretended to justify the act at that time. Why was not some defense or justification offered then?*

"In writing the above I have tried to divest myself of prejudice or sentiment, and to know only the truth. JAMES BLOOD."

For a fuller comprehension of Brown's criminal action in South-Eastern Kansas, and his repudiation by Col. Montgomery, with his leaving the territory

agreeably to the earnest solicitation of leading Free State men, of whom Gov. Robinson was one, the country having become "too hot for him," as the American Cyclopedia put it, we quote a portion of a letter written by Hon. GEO. A. CRAWFORD, to Hon. Eli Thayer, dated Fort Scott, Aug. 4, 1879, and published at length on pp. 67, 68 of our "Reminiscences of Old John Brown:"

"As to the raid into Missouri—it was made on the 20th Dec. 1858, four days after the raid into Fort Scott. It was led by Capt. Brown in person. Capt. Montgomery refused to go along—protested, as I have understood, against it,—but came to the aid of the Kansas settlers when retaliatory raids were afterwards expected. The Captain's company marched down the Little Osage River, in the north part of this county, and about 12 miles from here, and proceeded into Vernon county, Mo., a distance of three or four miles.

"The Missouri Democrat, of December 30th, 1858, gave the Missouri statement of the losses. I presume it is correct. Files of other papers of the period would show. It states that they "murdered" David Crews (or Cruise,) "kidnapped a negro woman," took wagon, horses, &c., and robbed Mr. Martin and family of a fine mule; took from the estate of James Lawrence, in possession of his son-in-law, Henry Hicklin, five negroes, 2 horses, 1 yoke of cattle, an ox-wagon, a double barrel shot gun, saddle and clothing; from Isaac B. La Rue, five negroes, six horses, 1 yoke of oxen, clothing—and prisoners whom they released.

"Cruise was a good citizen—a plain, unoffending farmer. It was reported he had no weapons on his person. The killing of him was an unjustifiable out-

rage, and it subjected our settlements to great danger from retaliatory measures.

"I protested to the Captain against this violence. We were settlers, he was not. He could strike a blow and leave. The retaliatory blow would fall on us. Being a Free State man, I myself was held personally responsible by pro-slavery ruffians in Fort Scott, for the acts of Capt. Brown.

"One of these ruffians, Brockett, when they gave me notice to leave the town said: 'When a snake bites me I don't go hunting for that particular snake. I kill the first snake I come to.'

"I called Capt. Brown's attention to the facts that we were at peace with Missouri; that our Legislature was then in the hands of Free State men, to make the laws; that even in our disturbed counties of Bourbon and Linn we were in a majority, and had elected the officers both to make and execute the laws; that without peace we could have no immigration; that no Southern immigration was coming; that agitation, such as his, was only keeping our Northern friends away, &c.

"The old man replied that it was no pleasure to him —an old man—to be living in the saddle, away from home and family, and exposing his life; and if the Free State men of Kansas felt they no longer needed him he would be glad to go.

"He seemed very erratic—at war with all our accustomed ideas on the slavery question—but very earnest.

"I think the conversation made an impression on him, for he soon after went to his self-sacrifice at Harper's Ferry. Yours, GEO. A. CRAWFORD."

STATEMENT FROM MR. LAWRENCE.

John Brown Deceived Everybody.

AMOS A. LAWRENCE, familiarly known fifty years ago as the "Merchant Prince of Boston," was one of the staunchest friends of free Kansas. He was one of the Directors of the Emigrant Aid Company, and probably contributed more pecuniary assistance than any other single individual to advance the material interests of the Territory in its pioneer days. The city of Lawrence derived its name from him, and his large contribution to the State University caused its location at that point.

At the May, 1884, Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which Mr. Lawrence was a distinguished member, he placed himself on record in regard to Old John Brown. After presenting to the Society likenesses of John Brown, Gov. Robinson, and files of sundry Kansas newspapers, among which was the Herald of Freedom, and giving a brief outline of the Emigrant Aid Company, its officers and agents, highly complimenting the services of the latter, he then inquired:

"What shall we say of John Brown? His course was the opposite of Gov. Robinson. He was always armed; he was always disloyal to the United States Government, and to all government, except what he called the 'higher law.' He was always ready to shed blood, and he always did shed it without remorse; for without blood, as he often said, 'there is no remission.' That he was sincere there can be no doubt; for he made his numerous sons his companions, and endeavored to imbue them with his own ideas; at least four of them were killed with arms in their hands."

Mr. Lawrence recited the bloody deeds of the as-

sassin and his cutthroat gang on the night between the 23d and 24th of May, 1856, and continued:

"It fell to me to give John Brown his first letter to Kansas, introducing him to Gov. Robinson, and authorizing him to employ Brown, and draw on me for compensation, if he could make him useful in the work of the Emigrant Aid Company. But very soon Gov. Robinson wrote that he could not employ him, as he was unreliable, and 'would as soon shoot a United States officer as a Border Ruffian.'

"John Brown had no enemies in New England, but many friends and admirers. He was constantly receiving money from them. They little knew what use he was making of it, FOR HE DECEIVED EVERYBODY. If he had succeeded in his design at Harper's Ferry of exciting a servile insurrection, the country would have stood aghast with horror; his would have been anything but a martyr's crown."

Mr. Lawrence had just cause to say, "John Brown deceived everybody." He had favorably introduced Brown to Kansas; he had volunteered to compensate him for his services to the cause in which Mr. L. had entered with zeal; he gave freely notwithstanding Gov. Robinson had assured him he was not trustworthy; how much he gave, or how often, we have no information. To a subscription of $1,000 to purchase "a small farm in Essex county, N. Y.," for the assassin, as a reward for his services in Kansas, Mr. Lawrence is credited by Sanborn, p. 112 "Life and Letters," with having given $310. Both Dr. Howe and George L. Stearns testified before the Senate Committee that they were ignorant of Brown's Virginia raid. They had given largely, as did Hon. Eli Thayer, under the representation he was still laboring in the interest of of Free Kansas.

At the June, 1884, Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the distinguished Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP presided. On taking the chair he made mention of some very interesting experiences which prevented his attendance at the May session, and then, which we condense:

"I was sincerely sorry to have missed hearing the communication of Mr. Lawrence, in regard to John Brown. I trust it will be printed in full among the Proceedings. There are but few things more important to the ultimate truth of history than the seasonable correction of popular errors by those who have personal and positive knowledge that they are errors. . . I think we all agree that misrepresentations and mistakes in the accounts of that period, should be exposed and corrected by those who discover them, before it is too late."

Mr. Winthrop then tells of the "marvelous rapidity" which had characterized the appearance of a certain class of literature, then:

"But so many errors find their way into this class of productions, by carelessness, prejudice or malice, that they can by no means be accepted as history. There is a good story of Mr. Jefferson, who was very systematic in cataloguing and classifying his library. On receiving a copy of Wirt's 'Life of Patrick Henry,' he said he had been greatly perplexed in deciding where to place the volume, but *finally arranged it under the head of Fiction.*"

It would be a pleasure to know under what head Mr. Jefferson would have classed the eulogies on John Brown, such as Redpath's "Life of Brown," Sanborn's several productions he wished received as Biographies, also the works of Hinton, and, lastly, Connelley's "John Brown."

A FIRST CLASS COCK AND BULL STORY,

OR, THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF A LIE.

A Specimen Libel, and Rejoinder, Referred to on page 107.

IN A NOTE on page 145 of Connelley's "John Brown," published by the Crane Company, occurs the following statement:

"He [G.W. Brown] would issue one weekly edition of his paper for home reading; this was very mild, and often supposed to be as much in favor of the ruffians as of the Free State settlers. Then he would rewrite the editorial page of the paper, and make his editorials conform to the most patriotic spirit of the free North. This edition he would mail to New England, where he was seeking patronage under the guise of aiding the Free State cause. Among the number who have told me this I will only mention E. P. Harris, Esq., long a compositor on the paper, and now one of the foremost printers and proof readers in America; also Mr. Frank A. Root, of Topeka, who was a compositor for Brown. Mr. Root was with the Overland Stage line in the interest of the government for many years, and is one of the most respected citizens of the State."

Now is not that a first class story? Complete files of the Herald of Freedom are preserved in the Historical Society Rooms at Topeka, so if this narration is a true one it can doubtless be verified by an examination of the columns of the paper.

To make it an object for Wm. E. Connelley, the veracious historian, to make a search, in a letter to him, I offered to give him $1,000 if he would find a single line I ever wrote in favor of slavery; and

$1,000 for a single copy of the Herald of Freedom different from its regular issue, save when the press was stopped and an item of important news occurring after we had gone to press was added. That proposition is still open. If the $1,000 is not large enough to tempt the erudite historian to undertake the search, then we will double it. And we beg leave to assure him we are pecuniarily responsible for the amount named, as he can learn by addressing the Rockford National Bank.

Is it not a little strange that those Southerners were such consummate fools they did not look to the title of the paper, HERALD OF FREEDOM, and see they were grossly deceived if they mistook it for a pro-slavery organ? Would editorials, or even the entire pages of the paper, written in the interest of slavery overcome that defect? I should suppose not.

But here is a question of veracity Mr. Connelly must settle, if he wishes to retain his reputation for a truthful man: Frank A. Root, Esq., founder of the North Topeka Mail, and a gentleman of unquestioned veracity, writing me from Station A, Topeka, Kan., June 19, 1902, says: "Your letter came duly to hand, but on account of sickness in the family has been pigeon-holed a few days. As soon as I could get out I went straight to Crane's to see Mr. Connelley. He was out and I went there a second time, but did not see him. On Tuesday afternoon I met him with his wife on the street. I told him I had received a letter from you, and that you felt hurt in regard to some of the things published in the "John Brown" book; particularly about a "Southern Edition." I want to say to you that I have never seen inside the cover of that book. I was astounded to learn what you wrote and said I was quoted, with Harris as giving the

[same] information. I NEVER GAVE SUCH INFORMATION TO A LIVING SOUL. I had heard it mentioned a few times that such an edition had been printed, but I never knew anything of the kind in the few weeks I was in your employ on composition in the Herald of Freedom office. I gave Mr. Connelley to understand that he never received any such information from me, for I never knew of it. He said he got the information from some one, but he did not know of whom."

A letter from Mr. Connelley, of date June 17, 1902, tells of a visit from Mrs. Hubbell, who was a member of my family much of the time from the autumn of 1856, to probably the close of 1859. Mr. C. says in that letter:

"Mrs. Hubbell said it was reported that you published two editions of the Herald of Freedom, but she was sure you never did it."

But there was a modicum of truth in Mr. Connelley's statement. It is said a perjured witness always strives to weave a little truth into his tale of falsehood, to give an air of probability to his statements. There was a Southern edition of the Herald of Freedom issued, but not by G. W. Brown, for he was a prisoner with the other treason prisoners at the time, guarded by United States troops. Mrs. Robinson, in the first edition of her "Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life," published in the autumn of 1856, tells of the incident:

The Southern ruffians, to the number of twenty or more, had their headquarters some two miles out of Lecompton in a log building known as Fort Titus. These men were making depredations on the Free State settlers, and committing all sorts of violence. The outrages became intolerable.

About sunrise on the morning of August 16th, 1856, an attack was made on that fort by, probably, 400 Free State men. They had captured a cannon, the Sacramento, from the pro-slavery party at Franklin a night or two before. Lacking cannon balls Maj. Bickerton took possession of the type which Mr. Whitcomb and boys in his service had raked from the river, the wreck of the Herald of Freedom office. and distributed in cases for future use. These were cast into 12 pound balls, and discharged with telling effect upon the walls of the fort until a surrender was effected. Nineteen prisoners were captured, removed to Lawrence, and were confined in the Herald of Freedom Building and held until a "treaty of peace" was concluded with Gov. Shannon. See pp. 325-6 of Mrs. R.'s book. She says: "Some of the type of the Herald of Freedom office had been taken from the Kaw, and melted into slugs."

Maj. Bickerton said: "The regular issue of the Herald of Freedom could not penetrate Southern brains, so we issued a Southern edition, revised and improved, which found brains where it was previously supposed none existed."

And this the origin of a "Southern edition of the Herald of Freedom," which Mr. Connelley, or his informants, after the manner of the fellow vomiting something "as black as a crow," passing through the hands of several liars became, "he vomited up several black crows." So the editor of the Herald of Freedom, after working off a Southern edition, as the veracious "historian" says "would re-write the editorial page of the paper, and make his editorials conform to the most patriotic spirit of the free North."

It was the active imagination of Richard J. Hin-

ton, or J. H. Shimmons, possibly the genius of the two combined, which invented this story, as a multitude of others to which Mr. Connelley gave currency, equally false and malicious.

Shall we trace the evolution of this story a little further? It is interesting, and betrays the genius of those who assisted in the transformation.

In the spring of 1857 a rival paper was established in Lawrence. Of course it was without subscribers, whilst the Herald of Freedom was issuing an edition of over 8,000 copies weekly. The condition was desperate, and it required desperate efforts to overcome this condition. It first gained the subscription list of the Herald of Freedom. Mr. Hinton had been employed in re-arranging my list of subscribers by States, and a portion of the old books disappeared.

Weeks went by, and letters came from the East complaining that grave charges were made against the loyalty of the editor, but months passed before I learned the import of those charges. Then the rival paper was sent me from the East, wherein it was represented the Herald of Freedom was issuing a Northern and a Southern edition, one radically anti-slavery, the other violently pro-slavery. This was followed with a genuine editorial, claimed to have appeared in its Northern edition. And this was followed by an article I had copied from the Leavenworth Herald, a bitter pro-slavery paper, on "The Spirit of the Pro-Slavery Press." "This," said the rival, "is from the Herald's Southern edition." And credulous strangers probably believed the falsehood; and a gullible "historian" has done all in his power to perpetuate the lie.

Perhaps it is well I am not a believer in capital punishment, otherwise there might be a tragic ending to

this Cock and Bull story. A court of law may have occasion to decide whether historians and publishers can revive and peddle such malicious libels with impunity.

When these libels were first set on foot by the conspirators we had no Courts or system of laws to which we could appeal for redress of wrongs. Even murders the most fiendish were passed without prosecution, so determined were we to avoid the recognition of the usurped government; but now conditions have changed. It is to be regretted that the original conspirators, of which *Richard J. Hinton* was the leader, have passed beyond the jurisdiction of earthly Courts, but Mr. Connelley and his late publishers are yet here, and have revived the offence with mailing their vile falsehoods within the past few months.

The History of a Lie.

DEDICATED TO SANBORN & CONNELLEY.

First somebody told it,
Then the room wouldn't hold it,
For the busy tongues rolled it,
  And got it outside.
When the crowd came across it
They never once lost it.
But tossed it, and tossed it,
  Till it grew long and wide.

This lie brought forth others—
Dark sisters and brothers—
And fathers and mothers—
  A terrible crew;
And as headlong they hurried,
The people they flurried,
And bothered and worried,
  As lies always do.

At last, evil-bodied,
It fretted and goaded
Till at last it exploded,
  In sin and in shame;
While through smoke and through fire
The pieces flew higher,
Till they hit the sad liar
And killed his good name.

—*Borrowed.*

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A COMPANION VOLUME

REMINISCENCES OF GOV. R. J. WALKER, With the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas from Slavery, by GEO. W. BROWN, M. D., Printed and Published by the Author, 1902, is a companion volume to "FALSE CLAIMS CORRECTED." It is a 12 mo., nicely and strongly bound in cloth, gilt back. The book will be mailed to any address on receipt of $1.

After showing how Kansas was overrun by Pro-Slavery hordes from Missouri, the ballot-boxes were usurped, and a bogus Legislature, its members foreign to its soil, was imposed on the people; then a thrilling account of the long struggle of Free State settlers to regain the rights wrested from them by violence, the glorious victory in gaining control of the law-making power; the repeal of tne bogus statutes; the defeat of the Lecompton Constitution; and the final triumph of Freedom.

The book has already had a very large reading among the survivors of the great contest between Freedom and Slavery. To date there has not been one word of adverse criticism from any quarter. On the contrary press and people have written and spoken of it in the most commendatory terms

They who hnow the facts concede, the triumph of Freedom in Kansas was the inciting cause of the Confederate Rebellion. California, Oregon, and Minnesota were admitted into the Union in rapid succession as Free States, then came Kansas with its strong Anti-Slavery sentiment. This was quickly followed by the election of Mr. Lincoln. Whatever throws new light on these subjects is worthy of careful consideration.

Wrote M. W. CHUNN, Esq., Luverne, Min.: I have just read your "Keminiscences of Gov. Walker" you kindly sent to our Public Library. I found the story intensely interesting, so much so I was compelled to read the book through without stopping. It has all the thrill and excitement of our best historical novels, with this advantage, it is all true. I know the book will be eagerly read by the patrons of our Library.

This is but one of hundreds of letters all breathing the same spirit.

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